WILLING
LETTERS AND PAPERS

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EDITED WITH A BIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY OF

THOMAS WILLING

OF PHILADELPHIA

(1731-1821)

BY

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TO

ELISE WILLING BALCH

1853–1913

PREFACE.

Philadelphia has had among her sons three financiers, each of whom in his day and generation took a leading part in upholding and maintaining the credit of America—Thomas Willing, Stephen Girard and Jay Cooke.

"Old Square Toes," as Thomas Willing was often affectionately called by his relatives, descendants, and intimate friends—a nickname given him because of the broad toed shoes that he wore, and a cognomen that in the public mind symbolized the sound and sure basis of his financial operations—has not yet received a fair recognition of the important services he rendered to the development first of the Province of Pennsylvania and then of the United States. Beginning with the meeting of the Albany Congress, for a period of almost sixty years, he played a potent though not spectacular role in American affairs. That so little attention has as yet been given to his public services, is no doubt due to the fact that during the Revolution his junior partner was for more than two years Financier General, or as we would say today, Secretary of the Treasury of the United States. The name "Financier," appealed easily to

the popular imagination. As a result the more spectacular doings of the junior partner of the firm of Willing and Morris have been pushed into the limelight, while it has been entirely forgotten that Robert Morris for his financial operations for the government had at his back the credit and prestige of his firm—the leading firm in all the colonies—of which Thomas Willing was the head and directing mind. Robert Morris was indeed the partner of Thomas Willing.

There is only one thing in the career of Thomas Willing of which, as one of his descendants, I am not proud. That is that his firm sold slaves. Of course it was in accord with the custom of the times; everyone did it in the colonial period. With this exception, however, the descendants of Thomas Willing can look upon his whole career with great pride. In this connection I take a personal pleasure in the fact that my paternal grandfather manumitted his slaves in Frederick County, Maryland, in the late twenties and the early thirties of the nineteenth century.

This volume of Thomas Willing's letters and writings, and other Willing papers, together with a biographical essay giving some idea of his career, is printed in a limited edition. The best collection

of Willing papers is the one I have presented to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. They are all printed in the present volume, together with letters that are elsewhere. But undoubtedly there are numerous other of Thomas Willing's letters in various receptacles, and it is hoped that the present publication will bring some of them to light. There is all the more reason to publish his letters so that the man's fine character can be revealed in them to all who may wish to study and write American history.

In collecting the facts and information upon which this essay is based, I have received aid of one kind or another from many sources: among others I may mention my mother (the late Mrs. Thomas Balch), John Thompson Spencer, Esq., the present Thomas Francis Bayard, Esq., Charles Willing, Esq., (son of the late Richard Lloyd Willing, Esq.), Mrs. George Peirce (who was Miss Lucy Spotswood), Miss Constance R. Beale, Mrs. Howard Gardiner, Hampton Lawrence Carson, Esq., the Hon. Simon Gratz, Dr. Thomas Lynch Montgomery, and Messrs. Ernest Spofford, and Albert Cooke Myers. To these gracious women and curtious men as well as others, my best thanks are due.

T. W. B.

PHILADELPHIA, THE 10TH OF NOVEMBER, 1922.

THOMAS WILLING
OF PHILADELPHIA
(1731-1821)

When, by the peace of Paris in 1763, France ceded Canada and all her North American continental possessions as far west as the Mississippi River to Great Britain, all fear of future French attacks was removed from the thoughts of the English colonists along the Atlantic shore of North America. The fear of that aggression had been a real one for many a decade, and had caused the colonists to look to and rely upon the mother land for protection against the repeated attacks of the French and their Indian allies under Frontenac and Montcalm. But with the signing of peace and the removal of the French menace to the future peace and happiness of the English colonies, the chief factor that cemented the colonies and the mother land into a close unison of mutual concern vanished. And soon a divergence of interests between them began to appear. For as the mother land had been put to great expense

to carry on both in America and Europe the repeated wars with France, the British King and his advisers decided that it was proper that the colonists should bear a proportion of the burdens of taxation. But the Americans thought they should not be taxed by the British Parliament in which they were not represented. Accordingly where concord had obtained between the colonies and the mother land before the peace of 1763, antagonism and discord began to appear after that date. And so was started a rivalry that eventually broke out into strife upon the field of battle and resulted under the lead of Washington in the separation of the colonies from Great Britain and the establishment of thirteen new independent and sovereign members of the family of Nations. These thirteen States eventually came to be welded and forged into the one present Nation, the United States of America.

During all the years from 1760 until the beginning of the second decade of the nineteenth century, a period of half a century, one of the potent but not spectacular figures in the development of the colonies and the United States, was Thomas Willing of Philadelphia, in his time the leading merchant of the British North American

colonies and the first great banker of the young United States.

Thomas Willing's great-grandfather, Joseph Willing of Gloucestershire, England, married on the 1st of July, 1672, first Elizabeth Plaver, who died on the 14th of October, 1675, by whom he had issue two sons: George, born on the 12th of September, 1673, and Joseph, born on the 22nd of September, 1675. The next year, he took unto himself a second wife, Ava Lowle of Glouchester, whom he married on the 24th of May, 1676. She was an heiress of Saxon family and good estate. She died the 31st of December, 1717. Joseph Willing upon his marriage to Ava Lowle, assumed her arms: "Sable, a hand couped at the wrist, grasping three darts, one in pale and two in sallure argent." By this lady he had issue six children. Their eldest son was Thomas Willing of Bristol, England, where he was a prosperous and influential merchant. He was born on the 6th of January, 1679–80; and married on the 16th of July, 1704, Anne Harrison, who was a grand-daughter of two of the regicides. One was the redoubtable Major-General Thomas Harrison of Cromwell's time and a member of the Long Parliament, and the other

Simon Mayne of Lincolnshire.[1] Thomas Willing of Bristol, who married Mary Syms, by whom he left surviving issue in England, first visited America in 1720 in company with his younger brother Richard Willing. They returned to Bristol in 1725. The latter, who was born the 26th of May, 1681, and died the 6th of September, 1736, is said to be buried in the mayor's chapel at Bristol.

Having been much impressed during this first trans-Atlantic visit with the future potential greatness of the English North American colonies, Thomas Willing of Bristol, in 1728, again crossed the Atlantic on a second visit to America. This time he took with him his eldest son, Charles Willing, then a youth of eighteen, to establish him in business in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, the rising metropolis of the colonies. Returning after a time to Bristol, Thomas Willing, the father, died there in 1760. But during more than two decades he kept up a constant correspondence with his son Charles in Philadelphia until the latter's death in 1754.

[1] Thomas Balch: *Letters and Papers relating chiefly to the Provincial History of Pennsylvania (The Shippen Papers)*, Philadelphia, 1855, page c *et seq.*—R. Winder Johnson: *The Ancestry of Rosalie Johnson;* Philadelphia, 1905, page 240.

As the first of the family to remain permanently in America, Charles Willing may be looked upon as the founder of the family in the New World. He married at Philadelphia on the 21st of January, 1730, Anne, daughter of Joseph Shippen and his wife Abigail Grosse Shippen,[2] and granddaughter of Edward Shippen, first mayor of Philadelphia under Penn's charter of 1701. Charles Willing prospered in business and

[2] The arms borne by the Willings since the marriage of Joseph Willing to his second wife, Ava Lowle, originally the arms of the Lowles, are found on ancient silver of the Willings, bequeathed by will prior to 1754. These arms, "Sable, a hand couped at the wrist, grasping three darts, one in pale and two in sallure argent," are found on an expensively cut seal impaling the arms of Shippen. As is obvious from the impalement of the arms of Shippen, and as is otherwise known, this seal belonged to Charles Willing of Philadelphia, the founder of the family in America.

Concerning the Shippen family see Thomas Balch: *Letters and Papers relating chiefly to the Provincial History of Pennsylvania* (*The Shippen Papers*), Philadelphia, 1855;—and Thomas Willing Balch: *The English Ancestors of the Shippens and Edward Shippen of Philadelphia*, Philadelphia, 1904: This article is also printed in *The Pennsylvania Magazine*, Philadelphia, 1904.

Abigail Grosse, grandmother of Thomas Willing of Philadelphia, was descended from Adam Winthrop of England, the grandfather of Governor John Winthrop of the Massachusetts Bay colony. See note by Arthur Winfred Hodgman in the *New England Historic and Genealogical Register*, July 1919, pages 238–239. This Grosse-Winthrop genealogy was called to my attention by Colonel J. Granville Leach.

became a leading citizen of the city and the colony. In 1747 he joined as a captain the Associated Regiment that was organized for the defense of Philadelphia and the region of Delaware Bay against a possible attack by the French. In 1748 the non-Quaker element of the city, fearing a French attack, elected him mayor of the city. About this time he built a handsome house. Describing it in *The Republican Court*, published in 1855, Griswold says:[3]

"His house, still standing at the south west corner of Third Street and Willing's Alley, though now deprived of its noble grounds, running back to Fourth Street and far onward down to Spruce Street, and shaded with oaks that might be regarded as of the primeval forests, is still remarked for its spacious comfort and its old-fashioned repose." In a foot-note on the same page, Griswold further comments on the Willing grounds as follows: "The west end of this lot, fronting on Fourth Street, M^r. Thomas Willing, son of [Charles Willing above] mentioned, surrendered to his son-in-law and nephew, M^r. Thomas Willing Francis, who built

[3] Rufus Wilmot Griswold: *The Republican Court*, New York, 1855, page 15.

upon it the beautiful mansion now occupied by M^r^. Joseph R. Ingersoll. On the southern part, Charles Willing himself built a residence, which has since given place to other buildings, for his son-in-law, Colonel William Byrd of Westover in Virginia. General Washington for some time had his head-quarters at Philadelphia in this house. It was afterwards the residence of Chief Justice Chew."

In 1749 Charles Willing was chosen one of the first trustees of the University of Pennsylvania.[4] In 1754 he was again chosen the chief magistrate of the city. During his first term in office he was an original subscriber to the Assembly dances, and to-day his blood runs in the veins of more subscribers to the historic Philadelphia Assemblies than that of any subscriber whose name is found on the first subscription list of 1748-49. During his second term as mayor in 1754, the yellow fever broke out in Philadelphia. And Charles Willing, his strength undermined by his exertions in his

[4] *University of Pennsylvania: Matriculates of the College, 1749–1893*, Philadelphia, 1894, page xi. Thomas Harrison Montgomery: *A History of the University of Pennsylvania*, Philadelphia, 1900, page 52.

official capacity to combat that dreaded disease, fell one of its victims. Upon his death he was succeeded in his business by his son Thomas Willing of Philadelphia in which city he was born the 19th of December, 1731.

Thomas Willing was sent in his youth to England, where under the care first of his grandmother Willing he was educated at Bath, and afterwards under direction of his uncle Thomas Willing, of Bristol and London, he read law in the Inner Temple. He was entered as a student in the Inner Temple on the 5th of October, 1748.

Returning home to Philadelphia in 1749, he subscribed for the second season of the Assembly Dances. And for the season of 1755, he was a manager of those now historic dances, as a card still extant tells us.

In the previous year, 1754, at the age of twenty-three, he began his long career of service to the State, which was to run on until 1811 when he was eighty years of age, a period of fifty-seven years, by serving as a secretary of the Pennsylvania delegation to the congress of delegates from the colonies that was held at Albany. That was the first gathering of

representatives from the various provinces that was convened to deliberate upon their common welfare and future interests. And at that Congress began in actual practice that American policy that eventually, step by step, drew the colonies ever closer together, until finally they became in the first place thirteen independent members of the family of Nations and subsequently, owing in large part to the danger of attack from outside, they became fused, upon the adoption of the Federal Constitution, into one prosperous and powerful member of that family circle.

On the 8th of July, 1760, Thomas Willing was elected a trustee of the University of Pennsylvania,[5] and served in that office until he retired in 1791.[6] He was chosen, along with Richard Peters and Benjamin Chew, one of the seven commissioners to have surveyed the Pennsylvania-Maryland boundary line, form-

[5] Thomas Harrison Montgomery: *A History of the University of Pennsylvania:* Philadelphia, 1900, page 105.

[6] *University of Pennsylvania: Biographical Catalogue of the Matriculates of the College together with a list of the members of the College Faculties and the Trustees, Officers and recipients of honorary degrees, 1743-1893;* Philadelphia, 1894, page xii.

ing a part of the famous Mason and Dixon Line.[7]

On the 6th of June, 1761, he was appointed a judge of the Orphans's Court for the City and County of Philadelphia.[8] In the year 1763, he was chosen mayor of Philadelphia. And he was the first to sign the address of welcome which "The Merchants and Traders of the City of Philadelphia" addressed on the 21st of November in that year to John Penn upon his arrival to assume the duties of Lieutenant Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Provinces.[9] In 1765 his name likewise headed the list of Philadelphia merchants who signed the Non-Importation Resolutions, in which the signers declared the Stamp Act unconstitutional and against the best interests both of the colonies and Great Britain.[10] And he was appointed the chairman of the committee that was to

[7] Walter Lefferts: *The Story of Pennsylvania's Southern Boundary; Bulletin of the Geographical Society of Philadelphia*, January–October, 1920, page 97.

[8] John Hill Martin: *Bench and Bar of Philadelphia, 1883*, page 69.

[9] Original manuscript in the collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. See *post*, page 23.

[10] Original manuscript in the collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. See *post*, page 29.

call on the merchants of the city to sign these important resolutions. In part those resolutions read as follows:

"First, it is unanimously resolved and agreed that in all orders, any of the Subscribers to this Paper, may send to Great Britain for goods, they shall and will direct their Correspondents not to ship them until the *Stamp Act is repealed.*

"Secondly, That, all those amongst the Subscribers that have already sent orders to Great Britain for goods, shall and will immediately countermand the same until the *Stamp Act is Repealed.* * * *

"Thirdly, that, none of the Subscribers hereto, shall or will send any Goods or Merchandise whatsoever that shall be ship'd them on Commission from Great Britain after the first Day of January next unless the *Stamp Act be re*peal'd."

In 1767, Thomas Willing was appointed a justice of the Supreme Court of the Province of Pennsylvania, and in that judicial office he was one of the last to act in February, 1777, under the colonial form of government.

On the 10th of January, 1768, he was elected a member of the American Philosophical Society,

the oldest learned society in the new world and a Philadelphia institution.

On the 18th of June, 1774, he and John Dickinson, presided together over a meeting of the citizens of Philadelphia held in State House Yard, at which it was resolved that the Act of Parliament closing the port of Boston was unconstitutional and that it was expedient on the part of America to convene a Continental Congress. The next month, from the 15th to the 22nd of July, a Provincial Congress of delegates from the counties of Pennsylvania was held in Carpenter's Hall in Philadelphia. As the first citizen of the American metropolis, regard being had to the sources and weight of Thomas Willing's influence, he was chosen to preside over this Provincial Congress of Pennsylvania. Some of the resolutions voted, sometimes by a majority, sometimes unanimously, were as follows:[11]

"4. That the inhabitants of these colonies are entitled to the same rights and liberties within these colonies, that the subjects born in England are entitled to within that realm.

[11] *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2nd series, Harrisburg, 1875, Volume III., pages 547–548.

"5. That the power assumed by the Parliament of Great Britain to bind the people of these colonies, 'by statutes in all cases whatsoever,' is unconstitutional, and therefore the source of these unhappy differences.

"6. That the Act of Parliament for shutting the port of Boston, is unconstitutional; oppressive to the inhabitants of that town; dangerous to the liberties of the British Colonies; and, therefore, that we consider our brethren at Boston as suffering in the common cause of these Colonies.

* * * * * * *

"9. That there is an absolute necessity that a Congress of deputies from the several Colonies be immediately assembled, to consult together and form a general plan of conduct to be observed by all the Colonies, for the purpose of procuring relief for our suffering brethren, obtaining redress of our grievances, preventing future dissensions, firmly establishing our rights, and restoring harmony between Great Britain and her Colonies on a Constitutional foundation.

* * * * * * *

"14. That the people of this province will break off all trade, commerce and dealing, and

will have no trade, commerce or dealing of any kind with any colony on this continent, or with any city or town in such colony, or with any individual in any such colony, city or town which shall refuse, decline or neglect to adopt and carry into execution such general plan as shall be agreed to in Congress."

After the passage of these resolutions, a committee of the Provincial Congress went to the Pennsylvania Assembly, then in session in the State House on Chestnut Street above Fifth Street, to urge the Assembly to appoint delegates to the proposed Continental Congress. The next day the Provincial Assembly named as delegates to represent Pennsylvania in the "first named American Congress,"[12] Joseph Galloway, the speaker of the Assembly, Samuel Rhoads, Thomas Mifflin, Charles Humphreys, John Morton, George Ross and Edward Biddle.[13]

While not a member of the first Continental Congress, Thomas Willing was in confidential

[12] *Carpenter's Hall Historical Association*, published by the Company, Philadelphia, 1876, page 19. *An Historical account of the Old State House of Pennsylvania, now known as the Hall of Independence*, Boston, 1876, by Frank M. Etting.

[13] *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Representatives of the Province of Pennsylvania*, Philadelphia, 1776, Vol. VI., page 520.

touch and saw a great deal of most of the men who were, and entertained many of them at his house at the south west corner of South Third Street and Willing's Alley. Writing of a dinner party at Willing's at which were present Washington, John Jay, Philip Livingston, Patrick Henry, Peyton Randolph, William Paca and Samuel Chase—John Adams in his diary says:

"SUNDAY, 11 October, 1774.

"There is such a quick and constant succession of new scenes, characters, persons and events turning up before me, that I can't keep any regular account. * * * Dined at Mr. Willing's, who is Judge of the Supreme Court here, and the gentlemen from Virginia, Maryland and New York, a most splendid feast again, turtle and everything else. Mr. Willing is the most sociable, agreeable man of all."

In 1775, Thomas Willing was elected by the Pennsylvania Assembly one of the delegates of the colony to the Second Continental Congress, which met on the 10th of May, 1775, in the Pennsylvania State House. His co-delegates were John Dickinson, Robert Morris, James Wilson, Charles Humphreys, Edward Biddle,

Andrew Allen, Benjamin Franklin, and John Morton.[14]

In the course of 1775 he made a live and practical contribution to the development of settling controversies between the colonies or States by judicial means. In that year the Pennsylvania–Connecticut dispute over the possession of the Wyoming Valley came up before the Continental Congress. Before the Revolution, according to the practice that had developed in colonial times, the question had been appealed to the King in Council for a judicial judgment. But a decision had not been rendered. In 1775 the Pennsylvania Assembly appealed the question to the Congress. John Rutledge of South Carolina said it should be referred to two commissioners, one to be appointed respectively by each colony. Thereupon, Thomas Willing of the Pennsylvania delegation and a justice of the Supreme Court of that province, pointed out that to insure a decision it would be necessary to appoint a third commissioner or umpire.[15] That

[14] *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Representatives of the Province of Pennsylvania*, Philadelphia, 1776, Vol. VI., pages 555, 586 and 587.

[15] *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774–1789*, Worthington Chauncey Ford, editor: Washington, 1908, Volume III., page 487.—Thomas Willing Balch: *A World Court in the Light of the United States Supreme Court;* Philadelphia, 1918, pages 14–29.

practical comment was one of the factors that resulted in the provision in the articles of Confederation (1782) creating the setting up of Inter-State Tribunals *ad hoc* to judge between the member States of the Confederation. And it was such an *ad hoc* Court, the Trenton Tribunal, that judged between Pennsylvania and Connecticut and finally decided by a judicial decision the Wyoming controversy between them.

The war between the North American Colonies and Great Britain was begun to defend the political rights of the colonies, but without any idea of finally severing the political ties that bound the colonies to the motherland. Thus the First Continental Congress in October, 1774, used these words in its address to George the Third: "Your royal authority over us, and our connection with Great Britain, we shall always carefully and zealously endeavor to support and maintain."[16] And the Second Continental Congress, in its address of the 6th of July, 1775, in which it stated the causes and reasons why the Colonies took up arms, said: "Lest this

[16] *Journal of the Continental Congress*, 1774–1789, Worthington Chauncey Ford, editor, Washington, 1904, Volume I., page 119.

declaration should disquiet the minds of our friends and fellow-subjects in any part of the Empire, we assure them that we mean not to dissolve that union which has so long and so happily subsisted between us, and which we sincerely wish to see restored."[17] It was Thomas Jefferson who wrote this public document, and it was received with marks of approval throughout the Colonies.

On the 8th of September, 1775, the Provincial Congress of North Carolina disclaimed most earnestly any idea of seeking to bring about independence of Great Britain.[18]

The Pennsylvania Assembly gave, on the 9th of November, 1775, the following instructions to the delegates it had elected to the Second Continental Congress:[19]

"Gentlemen: The trust reposed in you is of

[17] *Journal of the Continental Congress*, 1774–1789, Worthington Chauncey Ford, editor, Washington, 1905, Volume II., page 155.

[18] Francois-Xavier Martin: *History of North Carolina*, New Orleans, 1829, Volume II., pages 366–368. John H. Wheeler, *Historical Sketches of North Carolina*, Philadelphia, 1851, Volume I., page 74.

[19] *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Representatives of the Province of Pennsylvania*, Philadelphia, 1776, Volume VI., page 647. These instructions were drafted by John Dickinson. See Charles J. Stillé, LL.D.: *The Life and Times of John Dickinson*, Philadelphia, 1891, page 165.

such a Nature, and the Modes of executing it may be so diversified in the Course of your Deliberations, that it is scarcely possible to give you particular Instructions respecting it.

We therefore, in general, direct that you, or any Four of you, meet in Congress the Delegates of the several Colonies now assembled in this City, and any such Delegates as may meet in Congress next Year; that you consult together on the present critical and alarming State of public Affairs; that you exert your utmost Endeavours to agree upon, and recommend, such Measures as you shall judge to afford the best Prospect of obtaining Redress of *American* Grievances, and restoring that Union and Harmony between *Great Britain* and the Colonies so essential to the Welfare and Happiness of both Countries.

"Though the oppressive Measures of the *British* Parliament and Administration have compelled us to resist their Violence by Force of Arms, yet we strictly enjoin you, that you, in Behalf of this Colony, dissent from, and utterly reject, any Propositions, should such be made, that may cause, or lead to, a Separation from our Mother Country, or a Change of the Form

of this Government [that is the Charter Government of Pennsylvania].

"You are directed to make Report of your Proceedings to this House.

"Signed by order of the House:

"November 9, 1775. JOHN MORTON,
Speaker."

Thus the delegates of Pennsylvania in the Second Continental Congress were bound by those instructions of the Assembly of the Province—which were much more explicitly and positively expressed against independence than the instructions given to the delegates to the First Continental Congress[20]—not to vote for independence of Great Britain.

On the 28th of November the Assembly of New Jersey likewise bound the delegates of that colony to resist any attempt to bring on independence.[21] The instructions to the New Jersey delegates were as follows:

"1. Resolved, That reports of Independency,

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[20] *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Representatives of the Province of Pennsylvania:* Philadelphia, 1776, volume VI, page 587.

[21] *Minutes of the Provincial Congress and the Council of Safety of the State of New Jersey*, Trenton, 1879, page 300.

in the apprehension of this House, are groundless.

"2. Resolved, That it be recommended to the Delegates of the Colony to use their utmost endeavours for the obtaining a redress of American grievances and for restoring the union between the Colonies and Great Britain, upon constitutional principles.

"3. Resolved, That the said Delegates be directed not to give their assent to, but utterly to reject any proposition, if such should be made that they may separate this Colony from the Mother Country, or change the form of Government thereof."

On the 14th of December the Provincial Congress of New York said that the people of New York were still loyal to the Crown and the state of unrest and turmoil in New York was not a result of "a desire to become independent of the British Crown."[22] On the 25th of December, Portsmouth in the colony of New Hampshire, instructed its delegates to the Provincial Congress of New Hampshire to oppose any attempt to form a local government, for fear

[22] *New York Journal or the General Advertiser, December 21, 1775,* No. 1720, page 3.

it might be inferred that "we are aiming at independence, which we totally disallow."[23] On the 12th of January, 1776, the Maryland Convention instructed the Maryland delegates to the Continental Congress to oppose any move toward independence until the delegation had convened and consulted the Convention.[24] The Convention in its instructions to the delegates to the Continental Congress said:

"The experience we and our ancestors have had of the mildness and equity of the English Constitution, under which we have grown up to and enjoyed a state of felicity, not exceeded among any people we know of, until the grounds of the present controversy were laid by the ministry and parliament of Great Britain, has most strongly endeared to us that form of government from whence these blessings have been derived, and makes us ardently wish for a reconciliation with the mother country, upon terms that may insure to these colonies an equal and permanent freedom.

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[23] John H. Hazelton: *The Declaration of Independence,* New York, 1906, page 13.

[24] *Proceedings of the Convention of the Province of Maryland held at the City of Annapolis in 1774, 1775 and 1776:* Baltimore and Annapolis, 1836, pages 82–83.

"We further instruct you, that you do not without the previous knowledge and approbation of the Convention of this province, assent to any proposition to declare these colonies independent of the crown of Great Britain, nor to any proposition for making or entering into alliance with any foreign power, nor to any union or confederation of these colonies."

Likewise as late as the 29th of November, 1775, the Continental Congress, which represented all the Colonies, said in a letter to the agents of the Colonies in England that "There is nothing more ardently desired by North America than a lasting union with Great Britain on terms of just and equal liberty."[25]

The growth of the movement for independence was a gradual one.[26] In the beginning, shortly after the annexation of Canada in 1763 to the possessions of the British Crown had removed the chief source of outside danger to the British

[25] *Journal of the Continental Congress, 1774–1789,* Worthington Chauncey Ford, editor: Washington, 1905, Volume III, page 991.

[26] *The Examination of Joseph Galloway, Esq., by a Committee of the House of Commons,* edited by Thomas Balch, Philadelphia, 1855, *passim.* Edward McCrady: *South Carolina in the Revolution, 1775–1780;* New York, 1901, pages 166–176.

Empire in North America, thereby allowing rivalry and strained relations between Great Britain and her colonies to appear and gradually year by year become more bitter, the leading men and practically all of the people in the colonies were still in favor of the attachment with Great Britain. The friendly feelings of the colonists for the motherland, however, were at first outraged and then gradually in the course of years by degrees practically obliterated by a long series of ill-considered and selfish legislation on the part of Great Britain. The most obnoxious of these acts were the Stamp Act, the levy on tea and the enforcement of the Navigation Acts. The Stamp Act meant in fact for the colonists taxation without representation. And as the levy on tea was to be used to pay the salaries of the representatives of the crown in the colonies, those officials would as a result be placed beyond the control of the colonial legislative bodies. By the Navigation Act of 1663, the colonists were prohibited from trading directly with foreign ports. The trade with foreign countries could only be carried on from English ports. But the colonists disregarded this restriction and shipped cargoes directly to foreign ports and brought

back European products in their own vessels.[27] Consequently, as event after event followed one another, owing partly to the stupidity and partly to the selfishness of the men who ruled England, the movement for American independence, fanned by ambitious agitators who were practically at the bottom of the social ladder and consequently had everything to gain from any sort of a change and little or nothing to lose, suddenly began in 1776 to forge ahead. As a result, as happens often now-a-days about other momentous questions, one important politician after another, in spite of himself, was reasoned into favoring the idea of cutting the bonds that united the thirteen colonies with the motherland. In that way the delegation of colony after colony was won over in favor of independence.

The most important and vital opposition to a final and absolute break with Great Britain was in Pennsylvania. On account of her wealth and geographical position, the keystone in the arch of the colonies, Pennsylvania was easily the most influential of the thirteen colonies.[28] And her

[27] Sydney George Fisher: *The Struggle for American Independence:* Philadelphia, 1908, Volume I., pages 39–40,

[28] Edmund Burke's Speech on *Conciliation with the Colonies*, March 22, 1775. *Works*, Dublin, 1793, Volume II., page 34.

favorable action was most necessary to the movement for independence.

Virginia and Massachusetts, the two colonies most anxious for independence of the British Crown, had much to complain of specifically of Great Britain. Pennsylvania, on the contrary, had probably less cause for dissatisfaction with the British Government than any of the thirteen provinces. Her government was proprietary. All classes of the people of Pennsylvania honored the name of William Penn. His sons and grandsons were the governors of the province. As compared with some of the other colonial governors they had been liberal governors. Under the charter granted to the colony by Penn in 1701, with its supporting statutes enacted into laws in the succeeding years, the people of Pennsylvania had won a degree of independence unknown in most, perhaps in all of the other twelve colonies. In fact, the fight for constitutional freedom in Pennsylvania had been won in the main, when the struggle for American independence began.[29]

"Pennsylvania," when the Revolution began,

[29] Burton Alva Konkle: *George Bryan and the Constitution of Pennsylvania, 1731–1791*; Philadelphia, 1922.

Dr. Stillé writes,[30] "was then governed, as is well known, by a charter which had been granted by William Penn in the year 1701. The New England theory was, so far as it applied to Pennsylvania (but not to their own Connecticut and Rhode Island, where there were royal charters to which the same objection might have been made as was made to the Proprietary charter of Pennsylvania), that there could be no independence of Great Britain, while the Proprietary government of this Province remained in force. Hence to achieve national independence it became necessary to destroy that charter of William Penn which had become dear to the people of this Province, and under which it had reached a degree of material prosperity far greater than that of any other Colony. This is perhaps the reason why the people of Pennsylvania did not seize upon the prospect of independence with as much alacrity as the people of some of the other Colonies."

In order to force the hand of Pennsylvania, there was brought before the whole house of Congress, "in concert between" John Adams of Massachusetts and Richard Henry Lee of Vir-

[30] Charles J. Stillé, LL.D.: *The Life and Times of John Dickinson, 1732–1808;* Philadelphia, 1891, pages 169–170.

ginia,[31] on the 10th of May, 1776, the following resolution, which was aimed especially to overturn the Proprietary government of Pennsylvania, and was voted by Congress with that purpose:

"Resolved, that it be recommended to the respective Assemblies and Conventions of the United Colonies, where no Government sufficient to the exigencies of their affairs has been hitherto established, to adopt such Government as shall, in the opinion of the Representatives of the People, best conduce to the happiness and safety of their Constituents in particular, and America in general."[32]

James Allen, the third son of Chief Justice Allen, was elected on the first of May, 1776, a representative from Northampton County to the Pennsylvania Assembly, by 853 votes to 14. Concerning the resolve of Congress of the 10th of May, he makes the following comment on the 15th: "Yesterday the Resolve of Congress was read by Bradford at the Coffee-House. One man only huzzaed; in general it was ill received. We stared at each other * * * Moderate men look blank and yet the Majority of the City

[31] John Adams, *Works*, Boston, 1851, Volume III., page 44.

[32] *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 22, 1776.

and province are of that stamp; as is evident from the Election of new members."[33]

When, however, it appeared from the representations of John Dickinson and other Pennsylvanians, that Pennsylvania already had a government controlled by the representatives elected by the people of the Province, John Adams, "our self-constituted Mentor," as Dr. Stillé[34] justly described him in the circumstances, persuaded the Congress on the 15th of May to pass a preamble, as follows:

"Whereas, his Britannic Majesty, in conjunction with the lords and commons of Great Britain, has, by a late act of Parliament, excluded the inhabitants of these United Colonies from the protection of his crown; And whereas, no answer, whatever, to the humble petitions of the colonies for redress of grievances and reconciliation with Great Britain, has been or is likely to be given; but, the whole force of that Kingdom, aided by foreign mercenaries, is to be exerted for the destruction of the good people of

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[33] *Diary af James Allen: The Pennsylvania Magazine*, Philadelphia, 1885, Volume IX, pp. 186–7.

[34] Charles J. Stillé, LL.D.: *The Life and Times of John Dickinson, 1732–1808*, Philadelphia, 1891, pages 178–179.

these colonies; And whereas, it appears absolutely irreconcilable to reason and good Conscience, for the people of these colonies now to take the oaths and affirmations necessary for the support of any government under the crown of Great Britain, and it is necessary that the exercise of every kind of authority under the said crown should be totally suppressed, and all the powers of government exerted, under the authority of the people of the colonies, for the preservation of internal peace, virtue, liberties, and properties, against the hostile invasions and cruel depredations of their enemies; therefore, resolved," etc.[35]

Of course the Congress had no legal power to control the government of Pennsylvania, nor to direct the Pennsylvanians when and how to change their form of government in order to make plain sailing for those colonies that were anxious to break all political ties with Great Britain. There was at that time no United States of America, not even a Confederation of the several provinces. The thirteen colonies had all sent delegates to the Congress. But each colony was acting strictly upon its own authority

[35] *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 22, 1776.

without having agreed by any plan or scheme whatsoever, to be bound by a vote of the other colonies. Each province was free to act upon its own initiative.

On the 20th of May, a meeting of citizens who were in favor of a complete break with Great Britain, was held in State House Yard.[36] The meeting approved the Resolve of Congress of the 10th and the 15th of May, opposed the instructions given by the House of Assembly to the delegates of Pennsylvania not to vote for independence, and further voted in favor of calling a Convention of the Province to carry out the resolve of Congress of the 10th and the 15th of May to revise the government of Pennsylvania so that it would conform more with the views entertained by the leaders of Massachusetts and Virginia.

A few days later, at a meeting of inhabitants of Philadelphia, a remonstrance was sent to the House of Assembly in opposition to the "Protest" of the 20th of May meeting.[37] The proponents of the existing government of Pennsylvania maintained that while some colonies were at the

[36] *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 22, 1776.
[37] *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 22, 1776.

mercy of arbitrary royal Governors who prevented the representatives of the people from legislating, Pennsylvania on the contrary was governed by an Assembly representative of her people. "We remonstrate," they went on to say, "against the said Protest, as setting on foot a measure which tends to disunion and must damp the zeal of multitudes of the good people of Pennsylvania in the common cause, who, having a high veneration for their civil and religious rights, as secured by our charter, never conceived, when they engaged, among other things, for the support of the charter rights of another colony, that they would be called upon to make a sacrifice *of their own charter.*" Then the supporters of the Charter of 1701 and the Assembly of Pennsylvania went on to point out that there was nothing in the existing situation of the affairs of Pennsylvania that demanded her people to sacrifice their charter, while other colonies—such as Rhode Island and Connecticut who were likewise governed by Assemblies whose legal authority was granted by their charter as truly as the legal authority of the Assembly of Pennsylvania was derived by the charter of the Province—were allowed to continue to live under

their ancient form of government without conventions being invoked to destroy alike their charters and their representative Assemblies. The remonstrance concluded by indicating that whatever changes might be necessary to the proper continuance of the government of Pennsylvania in the existing state of affairs, "that authority is fully vested in our Representatives in Assembly freely and annually chosen."

It is reasonable to presume that Thomas Willing, as well as John Dickinson and Robert Morris, had a hand in organizing this meeting in defense of the Pennsylvania charter of 1701.

On the 7th of June, Richard Henry Lee introduced in the Congress his motion for independence. The same day the Committee on Instructions of the House of Assembly of Pennsylvania reported to that body a new set of instructions for Pennsylvania's delegates in Congress. And on the 8th of June, "The House resumed the consideration of the Instructions to the Delegates of this Province in Congress, which being gone through and approved of, were ordered to be transcribed."[38] These new instructions as drawn

[38] *Proceedings of the House of Representatives of Pennsylvania*, Philadelphia, 1776, Volume VI., page 738.

rescinded the former instructions of the 9th of November, 1775, to the Pennsylvania delegation to oppose independence, and left the delegates free to vote for independence. On the 14th of June, with only thirty-five members and the speaker present, less than a quorum of the house, the new instructions, having been "transcribed according to Order, were signed by the Speaker."[39]

Richard Henry Lee's resolution for independence was taken up on the 1st of July, in the Committee of the Whole. Pennsylvania voted in the negative. Of her delegation, Thomas Willing,

[39] *Proceedings of the House of Representatives of Pennsylvania*, Philadelphia, 1776, Volume VI., pages 739–740. Charles J. Stillé, LL.D.: *The Life and Times of John Dickinson, 1731–1808*, Philadelphia, 1891, Volume I., pages 188-189. Dr. Stillé says: "The new instructions were approved by the Assembly on June 8, and laid aside in order to be transcribed for their final passage on the 14th of June. When that day arrived, it appeared that there was not a quorum of members, the rules requiring that two-thirds of the whole number should be present for the transaction of business. On the 14th of June the Assembly (thirty-six members being present) passed as the true representatives of the people of Pennsylvania the following resolution, fitting expression of their true patriotism: 'RESOLVED, by the members of Assembly now present, that they are earnestly desirous of carrying into effect the resolutions of Congress of the 1st instant (in regard to raising the quota of troops required from this State), but there is no quorum, and therefore we cannot proceed.' The Whigs in the Assembly, by a secret understanding, had withdrawn after the 8th of June, and never again took their seats

Robert Morris, John Dickinson and Charles Humphreys voted against the motion to report the Lee resolution. James Wilson, Benjamin Franklin and John Morton voted for the motion, while Edward Biddle and Andrew Allen were absent from the Congress.[40] South Carolina also voted against the motion.[41] Delaware's vote was a tie. And New York did not vote. But the other provinces voted to report the Lee resolution, and so by a majority vote of the provinces, the motion to report was carried. The next day, the second of July, the Lee resolution was voted on.

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in that body, so that no quorum could be had for its organization. They took this course either because they regarded the Assembly as without any legal power since the vote of Congress of May 10-15, 1776; or because the Assembly had by the new instructions protested against any attempt to change the home government; or because they felt that if by their withdrawal they could for a short time paralyze the action of the Assembly, the progress of the Revolution would do the rest. At any rate, thus fell the Provincial Assembly, keeping up its shadowy existence until the close of August, 1776, a quorum for business being at no time present. Its fall raises many interesting questions,—among others, where and in whom was vested the legal authority when the assent of Pennsylvania was supposed to have been given to the Declaration of Independence on the 4th of July, 1776."

[40] Herbert Friedenwald: *The Declaration of Independence*: New York, 1904, pages 128–129.

[41] John H. Hazelton: *The Declaration of Independence; its History:* New York, 1906, pages 163, 198.

Of the Pennsylvania delegation, Messrs. Dickinson and Morris, being absent either purposely or by chance, and the other delegates casting their votes as on the previous day, Pennsylvania's vote along with that of Delaware and all the other colonies—except that of New York, whose delegation abstained from voting—was cast in favor of independence.[42] Two days later, on the 4th of July, the formal paper prepared by the committee headed by Jefferson was adopted.

Thus Pennsylvania's vote, on this momentous issue, was given not by a majority of her delegates, but merely by a majority of her delegates present. Or in other words, Pennsylvania's vote for independence was cast by a voting majority composed only of one-third of her elected representatives.

Thomas Willing—who had been bred to the Law in the Inner Temple in London, had sat since 1767 as a Justice of the Supreme Court of the Province, and was the head of the leading mercantile firm, not merely of the city and the Province, but also in all the colonies as well—was of the opinion, as he states in his auto-

[42] Sydney George Fisher: *The Struggle for American Independence*, Philadelphia, 1908, Volume I., page 459.

biography, that the instructions of the Provincial Assembly of the 9th of November, 1775, had not been properly rescinded. In his autobiography, after mentioning that he "was present when the vote of Independence was passed in Congress in 1776," he goes on to say: "I voted against this Declaration in Congress, not only because I thought America at that time unequal to such a conflict as must ensue (having neither Arms, Ammunition or Military Experience), but chiefly because the Delegates of Pennsylvania were not then authorized by their instructions from the Assembly, or the voice of the People at large to join in such a vote." His partner, Robert Morris, on the 20th of July, 1776, in a letter to Colonel Joseph Reed, thus expressed himself concerning the rupture with Great Britain.[43] "I am not for making any sacrifice of dignity, but still I would hear them [the British Commissioners] if possible; because, if they can offer peace on admissible terms, I believe the great majority of *America* would still be for accepting it." Further on in the same letter, Morris said: "I have uniformly voted against and opposed the Declara-

[43] Peter Force: *American Archives*, Fifth Series, Washington, 1848, Volume I., page 468.

tion of Independence, because in my poor opinion, it was an improper time, and will neither promote the interest nor redound to the honour of *America;* for it has caused division when we wanted union, and will be ascribed to very different principles than those which ought to give rise to such an important measure."

There were other associations besides Willing's training in the Law, first in the Inner Temple in London and afterwards on the Bench in his homeland, that strengthened him in his reluctance to break finally and irrevocably with Great Britain. During his whole past career, Thomas Willing had defended Penn's Charter of 1701, which, with its supporting statutes, was the palladium of the liberties of Pennsylvania. And now at the call of other colonies led by John Adams of Massachusetts—who naturally thought first of all of the interests of his own Massachusetts and not of those of Pennsylvania—that much prized charter of Pennsylvania was to be destroyed. Also with his family, Thomas Willing was associated with Christ Church and St. Peter's Church, and so with the established Church of England which had retained its orders of archbishops and bishops. The American colonies had been settled largely

by the Protestant Churches of Great Britain and the continent who had rejected the order of bishops. The Reformed Churches who drew their polity from Geneva were naturally inclined towards Republicanism. And though the established Church of England of the eighteenth century was different in many ways from the Protestant Episcopal church of to-day, in that then its clergy all wore the Geneva or scholar's gown and that it did not try to deny having received a large part of its religious inspiration by the way of Geneva, still it was naturally more conservative in its associations with the motherland than the Reformed Churches were. The latter had been trampled upon by the government of England and their adherents forced to leave the old country to seek new homes in America. Naturally they were ready to rebel against the government that had oppressed them.[44] So Thomas Willing was impelled by his legal training, by his associations, both inherited and personal, with the Penns, and by his religious affiliations to look with anxiety

[44] Thomas Balch: *Les Français en Amérique pendant la Guerre de l'Indépendance des États-Unis, 1777–1783,* Paris and Philadelphia, 1872.

upon a final break with Great Britain. To a man with his high sense of honor, loyalty and integrity—who believed firmly in the Magna Charta of the people of Pennsylvania, the charter of 1701—such influences naturally would count far more than if he had been at the bottom instead of at the top of the social ladder. So to his credit, he voted fearlessly and loyally until the end, and Humphreys along with him, in accordance with the instructions which the Assembly of Pennsylvania had given to her delegates in Congress.

Then a convention of possibly about a hundred people met without legal authority under the Government of Pennsylvania, but under the moral sanction of the Congress, led by Massachusetts and Virginia. This Convention, which in reality was merely a rump meeting, proceeded to elect on the 20th of July a new delegation to the Congress.[45] It re-appointed Wilson, Franklin, Morton, and Morris, and five new members, some of

[45] Charles J. Stillé: *The Life and Times of John Dickinson, 1732–1808;* Philadelphia, 1891, Volume I, page 189. John H. Hazelton, *The Declaration of Independence, its History:* New York, 1906, pages 190, 192.

Journal of the Continental Congress, 1774–1789, Worthington Chauncey Ford, editor: Washington, D. C., 1906, page 596.

them of its own number, George Ross, Benjamin Rush, James Smith, George Clymer, and George Taylor. These nine delegates, a majority of whom were not members of the Congress when that body voted in favor of independence, signed the Declaration[46] subsequently in August.

As the capitalist and head of the famous firm, first known as Willing, Morris and Company, then as Willing, Morris and Inglis, and afterwards as Willing, Morris and Swanwick, Thomas Willing was long and closely associated with Robert Morris. In the trying times of the Revolution each of the two men knew intimately, as their letters show, the thoughts and policy of the other and acted in close unison in aiding to steer, during the days of stress and storm of war, the united colonies into a haven of safety at its close. And though Robert Morris signed the Declaration against which he had voted in the first instance, and had not actually voted for it in the second instance but merely absented himself, nevertheless, with Thomas Willing, the senior member as well as the capitalist of the firm, he continued on the most friendly and

[46] John H. Hazelton: *The Declaration of Independence, its History:* New York, 1906, page 193 *et seq.*

intimate terms. As the financial official of the united colonies in the struggle with Great Britain from 1780 on, Robert Morris had the prestige of the firm of Willing and Morris, the most important and powerful commercial firm in Philadelphia, the metropolis of the thirteen colonies, at his back. The firm traded with Europe and the West Indies. Its vessels sailed on a large part of the seven seas. And the large property and still larger credit of Thomas Willing stood back of the firm.

Not merely in hastily written articles in the newspapers of to-day, but even also in many reputable historical works this firm is erroneously mentioned as "Morris, Willing & Company." *There was no such firm.* There are many letters written and signed by Robert Morris in his own hand, "Willing, Morris & Company." It is natural to suppose that he knew the correct name of the firm. And likewise there are letters written and signed by Thomas Willing in the same way. From time to time as the membership of the firm of which Thomas Willing was the head changed, the name of the firm also changed. For a number of years the title of the firm was Willing, Morris and Inglis, and

later on the name of the firm was Willing, Morris and Swanwick. But during the forty years or so that Thomas Willing and Robert Morris were associated together as partners in business, the name of Willing always headed the title of the firm.

It was chiefly upon the credit and prestige of that firm that Morris relied until the Bank of North America was established. And of that firm Willing was the head and financial brains. For example, in a letter that Willing wrote from Philadelphia to Morris on the 12th of February, 1778, the following passage shows that Willing had a more practical and sound financial judgment than his junior partner, who in this instance at least was rather happy go lucky as a financier and devoid of vision. Willing writes to Morris:[47] "Feby 12th. Two days ago I was call'd upon by T. Coxe wh a draft of T. Tilghman's in favr of Mrs. Francis dated 1st Augst 1776 on W. M. & Co. to pay her what Money she may want out of the Effects of F. Tilghman under yr Care—I told him I knew nothing abt those affairs, had never any thing to do with them, & had it not in my power to pay any-

[47] See *post* page 66.

thing—that I suppos'd you had taken away their books, etc. w^{h} y^{r} own, and wou'd pay or settle w^{h} M^{r}. Tilghman, & pay him the kind of money you had receiv'd for him in his absence—this shows you the necessity of settling such matters as soon as you can, or else such demands will be made on me to be paid in hard money continually—this will be the Case in Wilson's & Gibb's affair perhaps."

Not the least of the assets of the firm was the high social prestige of its senior member and head. Not only a great merchant himself in succession to his father, who had been a leading merchant and citizen of Philadelphia before him, as the latter's father had achieved commercial success in the sea faring port of Bristol, England —and the Bristol of the first half of the eighteenth century was a much more important commercial port of Great Britain relatively than the Bristol of the early twentieth century—Thomas Willing, owing to his connection, through his mother, with the historic family of Shippen, had a credit that appealed to the landed, moneyed and mercantile world of those times. In the provincial history of Pennsylvania, almost from the first landing of Penn down to the

outbreak of the Revolution, the Shippen family played a commanding part. Through Edward Shippen, the emigrant of that name, Edward Shippen "of Lancaster," Colonel Joseph Shippen and others, for four generations it helped to govern Pennsylvania. No other family in Pennsylvania came anywhere near equalling the Shippens in the length of long continued and substantial services rendered in high official positions to the Province and the State.

By inheritance through his mother, Thomas Willing possessed that great prestige of the Shippens. He understood and could talk the language of people who possessed traditions that ran back for several generations, a language all their own. Thus it was naturally impressed upon him in countless ways from early youth that he was merely a link in a chain. So instinctively he looked upon events as they took their root far back in the past, and thereby acquired a vision for the distant future denied to the self made man who naturally looks merely at the moment or the span of his own life time.

How much the commercial power and credit of the firm of Willing and Morris meant in support of Robert Morris in the post of financial officer

of the American cause, is attested by some letters that Willing wrote to Morris in the autumn of 1777 showing that in the previous year the credit of the firm had been attacked in England by rumors and innuendoes, which found their way to New York, then in the hands of the British, evidently with the view of undermining the credit of the firm to the detriment of the American cause.[48]

During the occupation of Philadelphia in 1777 and 1778 by General Howe, Thomas Willing remained in the city. When Howe sent a person to administer to Willing the oath of allegiance to King George the Third, Willing refused to take it.[49] And while the British possession of the city lasted, Willing and his family, and he was the leading citizen of Philadelphia, took no part in the social entertainments of the British Officers. The families of other notables were actively interested in the famous Meschianza in which the chivalric but ill fated Major André took a leading part. The Willings who were fond of

[48] Volume of *Swift and Willing Letters* (*Balch Papers*) in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[49] Horace Wemyss Smith: *Life and Correspondence of the Rev. William Smith, D.D.:* Philadelphia, 1880, Volume II., page 511.

social amusements, however, remained severely aloof from the affair.

While the British occupied Philadelphia, Thomas Willing received from General Howe the terms upon which the latter was ready and anxious to reestablish peace between America and Great Britain. Howe was prepared to recognize the status of affairs in which the colonies were in 1763. In addition, he was ready to grant them other privileges, among them to recognize the legality of the American paper money. Willing simply transmitted General Howe's terms to the Congress. He did not advise concerning them. He repeated them verbally to John Brown, whom he then sent to communicate them to his partner and friend, Robert Morris. The latter was a member of the Continental Congress and had left Philadelphia with that body at the approach of the British army. Morris, who was then at Manheim in Lancaster County, communicated Howe's terms to other members of the Congress. But they were never considered.

By remaining in Philadelphia on speaking terms with General Howe during the British occupation of the city and managing to maintain and safeguard the financial status and credit of the firm

of Willing and Morris, Thomas Willing did a great, though not spectacular service to the American cause. For the credit of the firm of which Willing was the head gave to Morris much of his prestige when the latter was the financial officer of the colonies.

When, a number of years after the war for independence had been fought and won, Robert Morris determined on embarking in vast land speculations in many places all over the United States—from which he expected fondly to gain a colossal fortune, but which ultimately, coupled with his lavish expenditures, resulted in his complete financial ruin—[50] Thomas Willing, with a far better judgment of the financial realities of the times, insisted that their long and close business connection must close. In view of all these facts, it is only natural to suppose that Morris in his official capacity as national financial officer of the United Colonies, received and was steadied by the sound and practical financial advice of his partner.

Though Thomas Willing, doubtless because he was the leading active representative of the

[50] William Graham Sumner: *The Financier and the Finances of the American Revolution:* New York, 1891, Volume II.

conservative and aristocratic party in the City and the State, and also on account of his vote against independence, was not re-elected to the Continental Congress in July, 1776, yet such was the esteem in which he was held, not only in Philadelphia but also through the country at large, that when the Bank of North America was chartered in 1781, he was chosen its first President.[51] That office he continued to hold until he was taken from it in 1791 to be appointed President of the First Bank of the United States. And when, in spite of the strong advocacy by the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, Albert Gallatin, of the renewal of the charter of the bank, as a result of political opposition "its charter ceased and its affairs were wound up, it paid," in the words of H. W. Smith, "in gold, during the prevalence of a paper currency which placed gold at a high premium, $116 for each $100 of its capital."[52]

Willing's financial services to America, first as President of the Bank of North America (1781-

[51] Lawrence Lewis, Jr.: *A History of the Bank of North America, the first Bank chartered in America:* Philadelphia, 1882, page 34.

[52] Horace Wemyss Smith: *Life and Correspondence of The Rev. William Smith, D.D.*, Philadelphia, 1880, Volume II., page 513.

1791) and afterwards as President of the First Bank of the United States (1791–1811), are thus summed up by Burton Alva Konkle[53] in a memorandum addressed to the present writer, the 16th December, 1920:

"In order to understand Willing's career, one must recall that the financial history of the United States falls naturally into three periods: The present one, characterized by the Federal Reserve System, somewhat recently inaugurated; the one before that, known as the National Banks' system, extending back to Chase and the Civil War; and the final one extending back to the beginning of things financial during the Revolution. This one has a name almost the same as that of the second period—so nearly indeed that only the last letter need be dropped, leaving it to be called the National Bank system, in which a single central dominating bank, like those of European nations, controls national financial affairs. It will readily be seen that the head of such a bank would be the most powerful guide and regulator of American financial matters.

[53] Mr. Konkle is the author of *The Life and Times of Thomas Smith, 1745-1809;* Philadelphia, 1904, and *George Bryan, and the Constitution of Pennsylvania, 1731-1791;* Philadelphia, 1922.

If any one man should hold that unique place for the greater part of that period, he would himself come near to representing the head of its financial history for those years. That such a man did so, seems to have been overlooked by history.

"Let us see how it happened: The fall of Charleston, in the spring of 1780, was due chiefly to the weak finances of the new republic; and it startled the capital and metropolis into a realization of it; whereupon their ablest statesman, James Wilson, together with the wealthy firm of Willing and Morris and others, created a private purchasing agency, into which patriots put their money, and it was given the title of the Bank of Pennsylvania. This institution purchased supplies for Washington's army and so turned the tide of battle that it revived confidence in the cause. James Wilson was probably the most learned economist in America, a student at Glasgow in the days of Adam Smith's rectorship, and was familiar with the financial writings of such men as Sir James Steuart, and with the functions of the various national banks of Europe. About December 1, of that year, when the Pennsylvania Assembly seemed bent on issuing

more paper money in face of an already fearfully depreciated State and Congressional paper, James Wilson wrote to his friends in that body, offering a much better plan, namely, to transform the Bank of Pennsylvania, which was a mere purchasing agency, into a national institution like the Bank of England, which could borrow and also provide an organ of regulation of finances. This plan was not accepted by the Pennsylvania Assembly, but was adopted by Congress in the early part of 1781, and Wilson, Willing and others persuaded Mr. Morris to accept the newly created office of Financier-General, or, as we now say, Secretary of the Treasury, and adopt this new plan as the financial system of the young republic. Mr. Morris agreed and, after the new institution was incorporated, with the title, The Bank of North America, many of the States ratified it by also incorporating it, which latter acts served to meet the questioning of some as to whether the Congress had incorporating powers. Thus the somewhat monarchical financial system of Europe was introduced into the new republic and, by the next autumn, the vigor which it injected into every department of the American union resulted in the surrender of the enemy at Yorktown.

"The man, whom Wilson, Morris and others put at its head to build, control and regulate it and so regulate the finances of America, was Judge Thomas Willing of Philadelphia—the only man I know who has ever been compared to Washington, and that, too, by no less a man than that other great Philadelphian and jurist, Horace Binney. You will observe that Wilson designed it, Willing created, constructed and managed it, and Morris accepted and used it, as Financier-General or Secretary of the Treasury. Mr. Morris, however, was Financier-General but a comparatively short time; but President Willing of The Bank of North America or national bank, was at the head of it for a whole decade following, or until the establishment of the new constitution of the United States, and its Government at the capital and metropolis, Philadelphia. Through it, he gave aid to Congress, to States, to counties and cities, as well as individuals, and contributed tremendously to uphold the hands of the new Nation. It was his wisdom, which was destined to give this bank so solid a basis, that it has existed to this day through all changes and is now the oldest bank in the Nation.

"It weathered the period of reconstruction of the fundamental structure of the United States in the adoption of the constitution; and amidst all the fierce clash of theories and interests in that wonderful period, President Willing and the Bank became famous throughout the financial and political world. When there were attacks upon its National charter from political sources, a young lawyer in New York, who had been on General Washington's staff, suggested, in his care of a client stockholder, that a legal opinion be secured from Mr. Wilson; and when this same lawyer, Alexander Hamilton, was made Secretary of the Treasury, in the new government under President Washington, he took the bank system, which Mr. Wilson had designed, and submitted his plans to him, who had now come to the bench of the Supreme Court, just created by the new Constitution, as its most learned Justice; and when Mr. Justice Wilson approved, secured the system in the creation of the first Bank of the United States on lines modelled on the Bank of North America, which, for political reasons, it was unwise to use, but selected its President, Thomas Willing, to head and build the new National institution.

"It was then that President Willing moved his office to the new classical structure on Third Street. Not long after Secretary Hamilton resigned and returned to his private practice; not so President Willing, for Financiers-General and Secretaries of the Treasury might come and they might go, but he seemed destined to go on forever. For Hamilton died; Wilson died; Morris died; Washington's term ended and he died; indeed five administrations passed; and it was thirty years after President Willing began guiding national finances as head of the bank of a national system, before he ceased; and then only because the charter expired by limitation in 1811, and Jeffersonians refused to re-charter it. The finances of the young republic were guided for its first three decades by the leadership of one man, and that man was Thomas Willing.

"But that is not all. The venerable President of the Bank of the United States was eighty years old and in health and faculties when the charter expired in 1811 and the War of 1812 was on the horizon. The Jeffersonians were able to create no better systems then, and, five years later, were compelled to re-charter the Bank of the United States, generally known as the

Second Bank of the United States; and Thomas Willing, then in retirement at the age of eighty-five, saw his life work, his "glory," as he once called his long service to his country, confirmed even by its enemies who had destroyed it. That long service in its excellence gave him the public title of 'The Old Regulator' of American finance. His system was still in vigorous operation, nearly a decade later, in 1821, when he died at the unusual age of eighty-nine years—within a decade of a century. And it continued on another decade and a half, when another Jeffersonian out of the west, the father of all Jacksonians, gave it its death blow, leaving no system at all until the Civil War caused the creation of a new order, that of the National *Banks* System."

The Bank of the United States and the Willing house were both on the west side of Third Street. The Bank building stood then as it does to-day (it is now occupied by the Girard National Bank) a little below Chestnut Street and opposite Dock Street. The Willing house was only a block away further south, at the southwest corner of Willing's Alley and South Third Street, a little below Walnut Street. And in the years when Thomas Willing

was President of the Bank of the United States, many people knew when it was twelve o'clock, owing to the regularity with which he returned home for lunch.

On Saturday the 17th of April, 1790, the day Franklin died, Thomas Willing was seated in the evening with several other gentlemen at the dinner table of Governor Mifflin at the Falls of the Schuylkill. The others were the Rev. Dr. William Smith, David Rittenhouse, Thomas McKean and Henry Hill. During the dinner, while a thunder-storm was in progress, one of Dr. Smith's negro servants, Primus, brought from the city to Dr. Smith at Governor Mifflin's house, the news of the aged philosopher's death. With the inspiration of the moment, Dr. Smith wrote out at the dinner table these lines:[54]

"Cease, cease, ye clouds, your elemental strife.
Why rage ye thus, as if to threaten life?
Seek, seek no more to shake our souls with dread,
What busy mortal told you 'Franklin's dead?'
What though he yields by Jove's imperious nod,
With Rittenhouse he left his magic rod."

[54] Horace Wemyss Smith: *Life and Correspondence of the Rev. William Smith, D.D.*, Philadelphia, 1880, Volume II., page 324.

Whereupon, Thomas Willing at once wrote the following lines:

"What means that flash, the thunder's awful roar——
The blazing sky—unseen, unheard before?
Sage Smith replies, 'Our Franklin is no more.'
The clouds, long subject to his magic chain,
Exulting now their liberty regain."

Thomas Willing was in the habit of wearing shoes with broad toes, with the result that among his relatives and intimate friends, he was often referred to affectionately as "square toes." In his later years, too, he had served in the parlor every evening for those that were there at nine o'clock, cup custard and Madeira wine; and if his children stayed beyond ten o'clock, he would wind up the evening by saying to them there was "a welcome to come and a welcome to go."

The following anecdote showed his every day good sense. When Louis Philippe, afterwards King of the French, was in this country an exile and earning his living by teaching, he met among others the daughters of Thomas Willing and fell in love with and wished to marry Abigail Willing, who subsequently became Mrs. Richard Peters.

When he spoke of the matter to her father, the latter according to family traditions replied to the son of Philip Egalité: "If you have no claim to the throne of France, you are no match for my daughter, and if you ever become King, she will be no match for you." The portrait of Mrs. Peters by Stuart and some of the pictures of the Princess Marie Amalie, whom Louis Philippe subsequently married, show that they were of the same general type of countenance.

Thomas Willing married on the 9th of June, 1763, Ann McCall, daughter of Samuel McCall and his wife, Ann Searle. She was born the 30th of March, 1745, and died the 5th Febry, 1781. They had thirteen children, as follows:[55]

1. Anne, b. 1st Aug., 1764, m. 26th, Oct. 1780, William Bingham, Senator of the United States.
2. Charles, b. the 5th May, 1765, d. the 12 July, 1765.
3. Charles, b. the 7th April 1766, m. 1st Rosalind Evans, and 2nd, Ann Hemphill.

[55] Thomas Balch: *Letters and Papers relating chiefly to the Provincial History of Pennsylvania (The Shippen Papers)*; Philadelphia, 1855, pages cv–cxix.

4. Thomas Mayne, b. the 15th April, 1767, m. Jane Nixon.
5. Elizabeth, b. the 27th March, 1768, m. Major William Jackson.
6. George, b. the 4th April, 1769, d. the 10th Aug. 1769.
7. Mary, b. the 15th Sept. 1770, m. Henry Clymer.
8. Dorothy, b. the 16th July, 1772, m. her cousin Thomas Willing Francis.
9. George, b. the 14th April, 1774, m. 1st Maria Benezet, and 2nd, Rebecca Harrison Blackwell.
10. Richard, b. the 25th Dec. 1775, m. Eliza Moore.
11. Abigail, b. the 16th May, 1777, m. Richard Peters.
12. William Shippen, b. the 6th Feby, 1779, m. Maria Wilhelmina Peters.
13. Henry, b. the 15th Dec., 1780, d. the 20th June, 1781.

Of the descendants of Thomas Willing, some have played conspicuous roles in the world. His eldest daughter, Mrs. Bingham, was the social leader of Philadelphia for many years, and in

England with her husband she gained immediate recognition from English society. In 1784 Mr. and Mrs. Bingham went to Europe. They spent some time in France and were presented at the Court of Louis the Sixteenth. Mrs. Bingham's beauty and gracious manners attracted much attention there. John Adams and his family were at the time residing in Paris; and Miss Adams writes on the 26th of October, 1784, that the Adamses dined that day with the Binghams at the Hotel Moscovy. "Mrs. Bingham," Miss Adams says, "gains my love and admiration more and more every time I see her; she is possessed of greater ease and politeness in her behavior than in any person I have met." And some years later, writing of a levée held by President and Mrs. Washington in Philadelphia the 25th of December, 1791, Mrs. Adams mentions "the dazzling Mrs. Bingham and her beautiful sisters, the Misses Allen, the Misses Chew, and in short, a constellation of beauties."[56]

As the two daughters of Mrs. Bingham, Anne Louisa and Maria Matilda, married two of the three sons of Sir Francis Baring, the blood of Thomas Willing has flown and flows in the veins

[56] Rufus Wilmot Griswold: *The Republican Court,* New York, 1855, pages 256 and 270.

of many members of the well known banking house of Baring.[57]

The most notable of Thomas Willing's descendants was the late Thomas Francis Bayard, three times elected Senator from the State of Delaware, Secretary of State in the first Cleveland administration (1885-1889), and the first American Ambassador accredited to a foreign government (1893), whose splendid career was summed up in a few words by Grover Cleveland: "Bayard is the purest and most patriotic man I know."

This biographical essay of Thomas Willing can fittingly close with the epitaph on his tombstone in Christ Churchyard, written by Horace Binney, in his day the leader of the American bar:[58]

"In memory of Thomas Willing, Esquire, born nineteenth of December, 1731, O. S.; died nineteenth of January, 1821, aged eighty-nine years and thirty days. This excellent man, in all the relations of private life, and in various stations of high public trust, deserved and acquired the devoted affection of his family and friends, and the

[57] Thomas Balch: *Letters and Papers relating chiefly to the Provincial History of Pennsylvania (The Shippen Papers)*; Philadelphia, 1855, page cv., *et seq.*

[58] David Paul Brown: *The Forum*, Philadelphia, 1856, Volume I., page 254.

universal respect of his fellow citizens. From 1754 to 1807 (*sic*), he successively held the offices of Secretary to the Congress of Delegates at Albany, Mayor of the City of Philadelphia, her representative in the General Assembly, President of the Provincial Congress, Delegate to the Congress of the Confederation, President of the first chartered Bank in America, and President of the first Bank of the United States. With these public duties, he united the business of an active, enterprising and successful merchant, in which pursuit, for sixty years, his life was rich in examples of the influences of probity, fidelity, and perseverance upon the stability of commercial establishments, and upon that which was his distinguished reward upon earth, public consideration and esteem. His profound adoration of the Great Supreme, and his deep sense of dependence on His mercy, in life and in death, gave him, at the close of his protracted years, the humble hope of a superior one in Heaven."

LETTERS AND PAPERS RELATING TO THE WILLING FAMILY.

Thomas Willing of Bristol, England, to his Son, Charles Willing in Philadelphia.[1]

"Bristol 7 June 1743.

"Son Charles:—I have before wrote p this convey[a], and Sent you Some Newspapers the Ship being yet there gives me the oppertunity of Sending Some more newspapers which are full of news from Bavaria where the French are Hunted from place to place and retreating being under Terible aprehension of being cut to peices.

"The Goods from Mr. Tho Stirtles are not yet come to hand but I have paid one of his Bills for 25[t] he advised that he had drawn for 50[t] the the other 25[t] not yet come to hand. I wish the Goods may come in time to Send p this conveyance.

"herewith I send you Invo &c, for Sundrys shipd for Mr. Jos. Mather also Acc[t] Currant Ball[a] in my favou[r]. 2" 13" 3"

"I am Sorry that I had not an oppertunity of

[1] Volume of *Swift and Willing Letters* (*Balch Papers*) in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

sending the Goods sooner to Mr. J. E. Bingham and Mes^rs^ Hamilton & Coleman, Mr. Allen, Mr. Tench Francis, Mr. Hasell & Mr. Mather. No ship has been put up since the Seneca went only the Cape Fair. I could have got some of the goods ready by the time that the Seneca Sailed but he Cleared out at Cust— house for fear of an Embargo & hurried the Ship down into Vine road the wind being then Fair but before they could get ready to Sail I think in a day or two after the wind came about to the west and kept them there for about Six weeks. I cannot Say that I was very Sorry for his disapointment because he had put it out of my power to ship the Goods by sending the Ship to portshet Hole. I advised him to let the Ship lye at the Key till after the Fair and then I could get the Goods ready to put a Board but he would not take my advice but I believe he after wished that he had done so but then it was to late.

"Your Sister D. Hand came home the 1^st^ Insta & Broug^t^ her Son with her. She designed to write to you p this Conveyance. Your Son Francis is very well. I tell him to get his Letters ready to Send with mine. Your brother

and Sister Nancy designe to write to you at present. I shall conclude with Blessing to you &c.

"Yo^{r} most afect Father,

"Tho^{s}. Willing."

Thomas Willing of Bristol, England, to Charles Willing in Philadelphia.[2]

"Bristol 25° Augst 1743.

"Son Charles:

"The 22^{d} June I advised you p the Cape Fair that p the Post that Day I reced yours of 5° April via Boston & London. The 7° July I reced yours of 20 April via Lisbon. The 28° July I reced yours of Sundry dates p the Seneca, and the 1st Augst I reced yours of 11° & 22° June p Cap^{t} Reeve I send this p the to N York to let you know that the Seneca is going back to Philad^{a} p whom I shall send you the Cordage, Sail Cloth, Anchors, 4 Small Guns about 2^{6} Each & Ship Stores &c which I hope will get Safe to you Soon after if not before this and please you. I do not expect to have the guns of 8^{6} W^{9} in time to Send p the Seneca. Yesterday your

[2] Volume of *Swift and Willing Letters* (*Balch Papers*) in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Son Tommy went to Wells to M^r. Wheeler I hope he will be improved by it so that you will not think the extraordinary expense lost upon him. My wife went with him (for I could not goe my Selfe) She is come back and gives me a very pleasing acco^t of the School &c. Tom was very well pleased with his little Horse. I Shall Send you some news papers p the Seneca I thank God we are all pretty well I hope this will find you all well I have not time to say more but that I am Yo^r most afec^t Father

THO. WILLING

Superscription

N Y Agt. 3 —

"To
M^r. Cha^s. Willing
Merch^t
In Philadelphia
"Via N York
Rec^d & forwarded
By S^r Y^r humble Ser^ts
Lubbouck & Haynes

"Memo. on letter { Bristol Aug^st 25 1743. Tho^s. Willings— Adv. G. rect mine of June 11^th & 23^d 1743 & that my Cordage &c shou'd be shipt on the Seneca."

THOMAS WILLING OF BRISTOL, ENGLAND, TO HIS SON, CHARLES WILLING IN PHILADELPHIA.[3]

"BRISTOL 5 Sept. 1743.

"SON CHARLES:—The foregoing is Copy of what I wrote to you 25 Augs[t] the Tyger to N. York last Saturday 3[d] Inst[a] I reced yours of 29th June via N York Your 1000[t] is on an Estate of S[r] George Howell it will not be difficult to have the Money at a Short warning it being at 4½ p Ct & the Interest duely paid I gave you an acc[t] p the Cape Fair where the Estate lyes, I could not get the Insura don on the Bankers to Jam[a]. If I would have given twice 12[t] p. Ct the prem you proposed I observe you Say that you have great many Shalloons & other woollen Goods by you worsted is advanced from 13[t] to 19[t] ye Pack of Course all Sorts of Goods made therewith are greatly advanced the Makers have raised the Nar Shalloons to 22/ and they talk of putting them up to 24 p ps and Brod Shalloons will be raised in propor[n] Duroyes Kerseys Brod Cloth, Rugs & Blankets and all Sorts of woollen goods are advanced near 25 pct. and dearer they will be.

[3] Volume of *Swift and Willing Letters* (*Balch Papers*) in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

"8 Sept^r yesterday I reced yours of 23^d June and will observe your directions and get the Insura done according to your order.

"8 Sept^r. herewith I send you Invo & Bill of Lading for Sundrys Shiped on the Seneca Math Wasbrough Mast^r for Philad^a. Amount as p Invo to 265" 3" 2" on your acc^t exclusive of Insura; which I hope will get safe to hand and please you I had the Anchors of Ste: Perry I hope they will prove good I think the Guns are very neat work. I do not expect to have the 2 Large Guns to send by this conveyance. I could not get a Garden Roler larger than 2½ long & 15 Inches Diam; the Size Sent, the Stores are agreeable to your order only I have made some alteration in Som of the Small Cordage by the advice of Mr. Hobhouse's Man. I saw a Cable put a Board for W^m. Doune made by R. Farr which he took in pay for Tar. You must take care that they do not change it for one of yours the weight will Show the differance, I got the 16 p^s Sail Cloth in No. 1, 2 & 3 myself but I was obliged to Mr. Will Clymer for getting the 12 p^s of Light Canvas in No. 4 & 5 ea. for it being harvest time the Makers had but very few by them so that I could hardly get them for money

which I paid down, for every piece of them and glad that I could get them Jo^{n} Taylor Sells his at 14^{d} only abates ½^{d} py^{d} for ready money. The Cask of Beer I had of Mr. Willis I hope it will prove good I had none by me fit to Send at this time but propose to Send you Som by next oppertunity. I could not get any good Chesshire Cheese such as they had would not Sell under 24/ p c^{e} for which reason I have Sent you 1 c^{e} of good Glostershire cheese which I hope will please you, the Speaking Trumpet & Lanthorne are put a Board loose and the 3 Long Brushes Mr. Wheeler sent 3 Dos. Beer to be forwarded to you, but it was not fine & I suppose it was put up in old Bottles not well cleaned & old Corks So that I knew it was not worth paying Freight for it for which reason I did not send it. I paid 3/ for the Carriage of it from Wells. I wish he had not sent it for I think it has not age fit to send to Philad^{a}. I am sorry that I had not an opportunity of Sending these Goods to you Sooner and that the Ship is yet here winter drawing on and fearing it will be a loss & disapointment to you if the Ship meets with a long passage it may be to late for you to get out your new Ship before the winter sets in, but I

hope it will Som way or other turn out to your satisfaction. I am, &c.

"The foregoing is Copy of what I wrote to you p the Seneca. I have got the Insura don on the Debby to Jam[a]. according to your order 105 at 3[t] 10/ p Ct Poll 4/6 & Comm[s] 15/6 abt 4" 8/6 I could not get the Insura don on the Vernon at 5 gs. you ought to have Sent your order sooner. If you expect to have any Insura don here. Yesterday I reced yours of 22[d] July Via. Lisbon with W. Allens Bill on Jo[s] & T. Simpson & C[o]. for 233[t] for acco[t] of your sister Nancy. I am glad to hear the Vernon arrived I forgot to advise you p the Seneca that R. Sanders the shoemaker has been Dead some time so that I could not send the Shoes you wrote for Your Mother wrote by the Seneca that she had sent the Shoes &c., p the said Ship but did not for Cap[t]. Wasbrough told me at the Cust[o] house the Morning that he Cleared out his Ship that he would be at Tolzey and pay me the 10" 10/ I did not see him after that But he weny away and left the Box behind but in a few days after he was gon his Brother paid me the Money.

"P this conveyance I have sent you Some News papers under Cover to Finney & Lewis & desired them to forward the Same to you p the first oppertunity by which you will find that Don Phillip have been defeated in attempting to Enter Italy and that the Confederate Army on the Rhyne is gon into winter quarters and the French Army is also going into winter quarters. The K. of Denmark has accepted of the mediation of the Maritim Powers so that the preparations for war with Sweden are layd a Side. We have War & Rumor of War and yet no War declared against France nor France against us. I have had a pain in my right Shoulder ever since Nov^{r} last its so bad that I cannot pull my Coat of or put it on with out help and affects my arm and hand so much that I can Scarce write. I believe I got it by a Strain and by often renewing it and the Cold weather about that time fix^{t} it so that I cannot yet get rid of it, I cannot think it to be anything of a Rheumatick pain. I am with Blessing to you all

"Y^{r} most afec^{t} Father

"THOS WILLING."

Thomas Willing of Bristol, England, to Charles Willing in Philadelphia.[4]

"Bristol May 26th 1744.

"Son Charles:—My last to you was of 20 April p the New Susannah, since that I recd Letters from Capt Nichols & Thos. Edwards with news of the Dorothy's safe arrival at Jamaica. The 21st. Inst I recd letters from Capt Nicholls & Messrs Hill & Guerard advising of the Dorothy's being arrived at So Carolina, that they had taken a freight for Bristol at £ 3.10/ p Ton & hoped to be here in three months. Since your last Letter I have recd Letters from Jo Shippen of 6 Jany mentioning the most of the Goods in the Seneca were saved but the Ship lost. I suppose you sent p the Ranger Capt Reeve a more particular account, but it's not come to hand he being taken and carried into France, & it may be some time before we have account thereof, if you omit sending a Copy by the next oppertunity. 31st May 1744.

"The 27th. Inst. I recd a Letter from Capt Nicholls dated So Carolina 11 April with direc-

[4] Volume of *Swift and Willing Letters* (*Balch Papers*) in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

tions to make £800 Insurance on the Dorothy to Bristol, the Prem will be 16 g^{s} p ct to pay 85. I have sent to London to know how it can be done there, & shall do the best for your interest. Premiums are so high no trade will bear it. at present I have not more to say but that I am

"Your affect^{e} Father

"Tho. Willing."

Advertisement of Charles Willing.[5]

"Just imported and to be sold by Charles Willing at his House in Third Street, a large Assortment of Woolen and other Goods suitable for the Season; consising of

"Superfine and coarse broad-cloths in pieces and suits, druggets fine and coarse, plains fine and coarse, superfine Devonshire kerseys, scarlet rateens light and cloth colour'd ditto, naps, striped dussil and couloured ditto, strouds, half-thicks, broad and narrow shalloons, waddings, rose and coloured rugs, blankets, buntings for colours, flannels striped, white, red and scarlet, duroys plain and mixed, Coventry Tammies, floretta's bed-ticken,

[5] *Penna. Journal or Weekly Advertiser.* January 5, 1747–8, No. 268, page 3.

Flanders ditto, cotton counterpans, caddis, quality binding, gartering, pins, buckram, striped hollands, gilt buttons, womens shoes, men's, women's, boy's and girl's worsted hose, worsted caps, callimanicoes, camblets, silk and romal handkerchiefs, callicoes, red chints, printed linen 3–4ths, 7–8ths, and yard wide garlix's, linen and cotton checks, yellow canvas, Irish hollands and linens, clouting and napkining diaper, tabling and napkin damask, Russia linen, nuns and gulix hollands, cambricks, lawns, muslins, China and Persian taffeties, alamodes, padusoys, blush coloured persian, men, women and children's gloves and mittens, buttons and twist of all sorts, mohair, cord, silver and gold wire buttons, plain figured white and striped fustians, cannon and pistol powder, 3, 4, 8, 10, 12 and 20 d Nails, clasp hobs, horse traces, frying pans, cross cut and pit saws, with other ironmongery ware; All sorts of canvas, London cables, and cordage, pipes and choice muscovado sugar."

Thomas Willing of Bristol, England, to Charles Willing in Philadelphia.[6]

"Bristol 27° Nov^br 1744

"Son Charles:

"I have before advised you that on Saterday 10° I was in hopes the Wind would have Served for the Doro to have Sailed the next day but Sunday the 17° the wind came about to the westward on Saterday the 17° the Wind came up to N. N. W. & N. & expected that the Ships to have Sailed on Sunday the 18° but the Wind blew so hard that the Ships could not get under Sail the Doro unmored & was drove on the Swatch but of againe next day without any Damages.

"The Wind is just now come up to N. E. and I hope will hold so as to carry them of the Cap^t is up in Town to get another mate it has given me a great deal of trouble and Vexation to have the Ship lay down in this Road above 5 weeks but the Neptune Capt Laws for Boston has been down in Kingroad above 10 weeks and not yet gon. Your Mother

[6] Volume of *Swift and Willing Letters* (*Balch Papers*) in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

and Broth^{r} came home last Night in a dusty Pickle the Roads being very bad.

I am yo^{r} most
afec^{t} Father
THO WILLING

"Since I wrote the forgoing I reced yours of 31 July and 29 Augst via N York by a Snow Bound from N York to London but drove up into our Channel to which I have not time to give you any answer Sam Allen the Boatswaine has had two Shillings and John Smith five Shillings which you must Stop out of their wages."

Superscription
"To
M^{r}. Cha^{s}. Willing
merch^{t}
In Philadelph^{a}"

Thomas Willing of Bristol, England, to Charles Willing in Philadelphia.[7]

"Bristol 2d Septr 1746

"Son Charles:

"My last to you was 31 Decebr I then advised that the 4 Bills wch you Sent me for 492″18″2 were all protested.

"I also advised you that on Sunday 27 octobr I recd yours of the 10° Augst with orders to make 400t Insura: on the Lucca but the next morning a Ship arrived here from Barbados by whom I had letter from Capt. Loyd advising of his being arrived there So that you have Saved the Charge of that Insura. I also advised of Wilcockes Bill on Truman and Duglas for 300t being com to hand but not accepted, but I can now tell you that it was Som time after accepted and Since paid but neither of the 4 Bills for 492″18″2 are yet paid but Mr. Sprigg says he will pay them.

"I reced your order to make Insura: on the Dorothy from Philada. which I did accordingly charge as under but have not yet any account

[7] Volume of *Swift and Willing Letters* (*Balch Papers*) in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

of her being arrived or Taken. I fear she is lost. At present I have not time but to ad but that I am

Your most afect.
Father
THO! WILLING

"To Insura on the Dorothy
Philad^{a}. to Lisbon

650^{tr} on Ship at 14 G^{s} p C^{r}	95″ 11″ 0	
Pollicy 4/6^{d}	0″ 4″ 6	
To my Comm^{s} ½ p C^{t}	3″ 5″ 0	
		99″ 0″ 6
600^{t} on Goods at 14 G^{s} p C^{r}	88″ 4″ 0	
Pollicy 4/6^{d}	0″ 4″ 6	
Comm^{s} ½ p C^{t}	3″ 0″ 0	
		91″ 8″ 6
		190″ 9″ 0"

Superscription
"To
M^{R}. CHARLES WILLING
Merch^{t}
In
Philadelphia
P the John Gatty"

JOHN PENN TO THOMAS WILLING.[8]

"DEAR SIR:—My time was so very much taken up in the disagreeable Ceremony of Visiting & in preparing for our little Voyage to Rhode Island, that I could only find time while I was at N. York to write to my dear friend the Governor—Our passage from N. York was dangerous & very unpleasant, especially to me as I have ever since been disabled from writing till this morning, have kept my room several days & for the first time since I have been in America ask'd the Advice of a D^r^ & been oblig'd to follow it. We met with very blowing, raw weather in the Sound & by being too frequently upon Deck in the night without my Cloaths, I caught a violent cold, which feel upon my bowells. I think I have suffered more these four days past than I ever did in my life & nothing but my being quite disabled could have been a sufficient excuse (even to my self) for neglecting to write to you before—I have promis'd to drink tea with your *old flame* this afternoon (that is if I find I can behave decently without making wry faces). You may guess who I mean—Mrs. Apthorp—I wish I could

[8] *Pennsylvania Magazine*, Philadelphia, 1881, Volume V., page 352.

call her Polly M'Evers for your sake, that is, if you do yourself, but perhaps matters are as well as they are, you might have alter'd your mind by this time. As you are the man in the world who seem to want a Portmanteau the most, one word of advice from an old friend before you tye it up behind you may not come mal a propos; this is supposing you can't live without baggage, & your great vartue won't suffer you to unburden your Conscience with the wicked ones of the world, well you are right there's nothing like a virtuous way of thinking in a young man never swallow the hook till you are convinc'd It's not poisoned, this requires some time, should you find any defect, you are just where you were before, & ready to try a fresh one, You'll think presently I grow grave & say I am a fool, but upon my honour, Tom, you have such a living Example eternally before you, that it would be impertinent in me to pretend to say anything more, if you do but keep that in your mind, & weigh your Polly's Betsy's &c against it, you won't be deceived, but then I believe it will be a long time before you are satisfy'd, & you will perhaps grow tyr'd of the tryal

I need not tell you where to find this example, tho' I must own I have known some brothers very blind to anything that was in favour of a Sister, but that I have too good an opinion of you to think you are. We are not likely to get an agreable passage from hence, so have determin'd to proceed immediately to Halifax where we are sure of going in a man of war, 'tis said here the french fleet had got out of Louisbourg. We are to be entertain'd to morrow night with a Concert & a ball, the next night we shall be at sea. I beg you'll all sit cross leg'd for our good voyage. Pray make my Comp[l] to Mrs. Willing Nancy & Dolly not forgetting the Young Ones. You may drink my good voyage the first of November, which is the time the men of war sail from Halifax. tell Nancy if she does not eat & drink more that day than she has done these three years past I'll never forgive her. I wont put up with a Acorn full for a Bumper. As I cannot have the pleasure of hearing from you while I am in America I shall expect it in England the Gov[r] will let you know my direction tho' perhaps we may never meet again yet there is some small satisfaction in writing; the

Anecdotes of Phil will not be disagreable especially as I know the principal actors in anything that can happen, I suppose you'l laugh when I tell you, I could not leave Phil with dry Eyes, I don't remember I ever was so Childish in my life before. Adiew, if there is anybody, who thinks it worth while asking after me pray make my Comp[l] to them, & believe me

"Dear Sir
Your very Hum: Ser[t]
& Affect[e] Friend
JOHN PENN.

"Boston Oct: 10th 1755.

"Cap[t] Suckling who was at Phil a year ago, has got the Lys a 74 gun ship."

ADVERTISEMENT OF WILLING, MORRIS AND COMPANY.[9]

"MAY 6TH.

"Just imported from the Coast of Africa in the Brigantine Nancy, William Clarke, Master; and to be sold at Wilmington, in New Castle County,

[9] *Penna. Journal and Weekly Advertiser*, May 6, 1762, No. 1013.

where attendance is given by Willing, Morris, and Comp. of Philadelphia..

"One Hundred and Seventy five Gold Coast Negroes. N. B. In the West India Islands, where Slaves are best known, those of the Gold Coast are in much greater Esteem and higher valued than any others on Account of their natural good Dispositions, and being better capable of hard Labour."

Advertisement of Willing and Morris.[10]

"September 1.

"The copartnership of Willing Morris and Company being now dissolved, all persons indebted to the said Company, are desired to make immediate payment and more particularly those who are indebted on bond for Negroes sold in the Lower Counties. The goods remaining on hand are as follows and will be sold very cheap for ready money or short credit, by Willing and Morris, at their Wharfe and Store below the Draw Bridge.

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[10] *Penna. Journal*, September 29, 1763, No. 1086, page 5.

"Jamaica spirit; a large quantity and good assortment of Madeira wines from £30 to £60 per pipe some of the latter price near three years old, Fyal and Teneriffe wines, Rhinish wine in casks, Bristol beer, very good bohea tea in whole and half chests, pruens in hogheads, boxes of brimstone, boxes of painted and plain glass ware, cases of toys, violins, spinning wheels, cordage, two anchors of 12 ct. and 15 ct. wt. Spanish musquets, English ditto tower powder, an invoice of castor and felt hatts; a large quantity of spermaceta candles, best Havannah white sugars; a quantity of junipper berry's and anniseeds, with sundry other goods."

The address of the Merchants and Traders of Philadelphia to Governor JOHN PENN, November 21st, 1763.[11]

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[11] From *Penn Manuscripts, Additional Miscellaneous Letters*, Volume page 115. This manuscript was donated July 10th 1846 to The Historical Society of Pennsylvania by Mr. Philip S. Justice of Philadelphia and London. He inherited it from his father, Mr. George M. Justice.

"TO THE HONORABLE JOHN PENN, ESQUIRE

"*Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief of the Province of Pennsylvania; and the Counties of New Castle, Kent and Sussex, upon Delaware.*

"THE HUMBLE ADDRESS OF THE MERCHANTS AND TRADERS OF THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONOR,

"The Merchants and Traders of the City of Philadelphia beg leave to express their Joy, upon your Appointment, and safe arrival to this Government.

"It is, we assure you, Sir, with Pleasure, we see the Reins of Government Committed to One, descended from that great Legislator, the Founder of this Province; a Founder, under whose wise and free System of Policy, the Colony has so remarkably flourished, and her Trade become so extensively useful to herself, and her Mother Country. We therefore have great Reason to indulge ourselves, in the pleasing Expectation, that you will zealously pursue the excellent Plan of your illustrious Ancestor, and most cheerfully, upon every Occasion, promote and encourage the commercial Interest of this

City, upon which so essentially depends, the Welfare of the Province.

"We ardently hope, that your Administration will be as agreeable to yourself, as we trust, it will be happy to the People, whose real and permanent Interest, we humbly conceive, is inseparably connected with that, of your Honorable Family.

THOS. WILLING.

"Philadelphia, November 21st, 1763.

"Several of the Subscribers, being of the People called Quakers, except as usual, to the Stile—

WM. PLUMSTED
THO. LAWRENCE
JOS. FOX
JOHN MEASE
CHAS. STEDMAN
SAML. MIFFLIN
HENY. HARRISON
REDMD. CONYNGHAM
IS. JONES
JERE'AH WARDER
JOSHUA FISHER
JAMES BENEZET
SAM. SMITH
JOS. RICHARDSON
WILLIAM FISHER
ABEL JAMES
JUDAH FOULKE
DAN'L RUNDLE
WILLIAM DOWELL
JOHN BAYNTON
SAML. WHARTON
JOHN KIDD
JAS. WHARTON
CHAS. WILLING
JOSEPH WOOD
WM. LLOYD
JNO. SHEE
ROBT. LEWIS
WM. RICHARDS
BENJ. MIFFLIN
STEPHEN SHEWELL
PHILIP BENEZET

Amos Strettell
Wm. Ritchie
P. Turner, Junr.
Charles Woodham
Daniel Clark
Peter Wikoff
Archd. McCall
Saml. Meredith
James Chalmers
James Wallace
Jona. Evans
Jos. Saunders
Saml. Corry
John Wikoff
Joshua Howell
Geo. Morgan
Geo. Roberts
Robert Ritchie
Alexr. Lunan
Willm. Ibison
Chas. Thomson
Jon. Hughes
Jno. Ross
Miles Hillborn
Tench Francis
Saml. Massey
M. L. Hillegas
John Chew
Thos. Smith
Philip Kinsey
Peter Reeve
Thomas Brown
Rob't. Morris
Charles Bathe
Stepn. Carmick
Jno. Wilcocks
Garrett Meade
Jno. Rolfe
N. Evans
John Flanagan
James Eddy
Jos. Wharton, Junr.
Richd. Footman
John Nelson
Jno. White
Saml. Purviance, Junr.
Anthony Stocker
Richd. Bache
Reynold Keene
Peter Knight
Geo. Bryan
B. Fuller
Jas. Young
Hu. Donaldson
W. Morris, Jun.
Clement Biddle
Tho. Wharton
John McMichael
John Sayre
Henry Kepples
James Mease
Peter Chevalier, Junr.
Charles Meredith
Danl. Benezet
Sam. Carsan
John Gibson
John Peyton
Wm. Adcock

Walter Shee
John Cadwalader
Thomas Mifflin
Thos. Burke
Geo. Fullerton
Saml. Jackson
Alex. Huston
Richard Wells
Saml. Sansom, Junior
Benj. Swett, Junr.
Jno. Murray
Thomas Montgomery
James Alexander
Benjamin Levy
Thos. Riche
S. Shoemaker
Cornelius Bradford
Andrw. Hodge
Wm. Henry
John Biddle
Charles Williams
Buckridge Sims
William Pusey
William Gibbons
Jno. Ord
Saml. Morris, Junr.
Andw. Bankson
Gilb. Barkly
Isaac Wikoff
M. Furman
Richd. Parker
James Gordon
Thos. Potts
Benja. Kendall
Townsend White
Wm. Ball
John Allen
John Nixon
William Symonds
Henry Groth
Thos. Bond, Junr.
Francis Jeyes
William Morrell
Danl. Williams
Saml. Purviance
Cadw. Morris
Tho. Richardson
John Cox, Junr.
John Maxwell Nesbitt
Enoch Story
Wm. Bradford
John Chevalier
Jno. Ladd Howell
Joseph Swift
James Harding
Geo. Clymer
Reese Meredith
John Bell
Thos. Gilbert
Chas. Coxe
Saml. Flower
Jos. Redman
Wm. Hodge
Jno. Bayard
Tho. Wharton, Junr.
Josiah Hewes
Andrew Reed"

ADVERTISEMENT OF WILLING AND MORRIS.[12]

"Just arrived from Bristol, the ship Sarah, Capt. James Drew: having on board thirty indented servant men and men boys, aged from 16 to 17 years, who have to serve from four to seven years, and amongst them are the following trades and occupations,

"One white-smith, one black-smith, one lock-smith, one bright smith one wool comber, one butcher, one limeburner, one Plaisterer, one coachman, one joiner, one braisier, one leather dresser, one mason, one gentleman's servant, one sawyer and the remainder shoemakers, weavers, husbandmen and labourers. They are to be seen on board said ship, at Willing and Morris's wharf, who have to dispose of their times, and can shew the character each servant bore in his own country.

"The said Willing and Morris have imported ***"

[12] *Pennsylvania Journal.* No. 1167. April 18, 1765, page 3.

General Bouquet to Thomas Willing.

"Philadelphia 25th June, 1765.[13]

"I shall be no more, My good Friend, when you read this last Letter, but I indulge myself with the pleasing thought that our Friendship will not even then be extinct, and that you will some times think of me.

"The Five Tracts of Land which I give you in my Will, I beg you will make over to your Sister Elizabeth Willing. They are worth little or nothing at this Time, but may hereafter become of some value, tho' at best a very trifling mark of my Respect & attachment for my dear Betsie. May she be as happy in a worthy Husband, as she is in a brother.

"I leave you nothing, because I have nothing worthy of your acceptance, & only give you here, an additional Trouble. I must die as I have lived.

"Farewell my good Friend. Be happy,—Give

[13] Volume of *Swift and Willing Letters* (*Balch Papers*) in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. George Harrison Fisher: *Brigadier-General Henry Bouquet; The Pennsylvania Magazine*, Philadelphia, 1879, Volume III., page 121.

my Love to Nancy, Dolly and your other Sisters. Adieu I shall be to my last hour.

"Yours most affectionally

HENRY BOUQUET

"*Thomas Willing Esq^r.*"

Superscription:

"To Tho^s. Willing Esq^r.
at Philadelphia

"HEN: BOUQUET."

The Non-Importation Resolutions of the 25th of October, 1765. The original manuscript was presented to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania on the 8th of May, 1854 by William Bradford.[14] The resolutions are as follows:—

"The Merchants & Traders of the City of Philadelphia, taking into their consideration the Melancholy state of the N°. American commerce

[14] The following explanatory letter accompanied the Non-Importation Resolutions manuscript when it was presented to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

"PHILA^d. MAY 10th 1854.

"HON. THOMAS SERGEANT

President of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

"DEAR SIR

"Permit me to present through you to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the original Declaration of Independence made by the

in general, and the distress'd situation of this Province of Pennsylvania in particular, do unanimously agree:—

"That, the many difficulties they now Labour under as a trading people, are owing to the Restrictions, Prohibitions and ill advis'd Regulations made in several Acts of the Parliament of Great Britain lately pass'd to regulate the Colonies; which have limited the Exportation of some part of our country produce, encreas'd the cost and expence of many articles of our Importation and cut off from us all means of supplying ourselves with Specie enough, *even* to pay the

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citizens of Philadelphia known as the Non-Importation Resolutions. This paper was a gift to me by my late grandfather, Thomas Bradford. At the time of the gift he made substantially the following statement; that this paper was the first public act in this country, declaring resistance to the oppressive acts of the British Crown; That when a young man, he went from house and store to store in the then City of Philadelphia and obtained the majority of the signatures hereto annexed; That the city limits were then, Race Street on the north, Third Street on the west, Dock Creek on the south and the River Delaware on the east; that his father William Bradford being a member of a committee appointed at a public meeting held by the citizens for the purpose of procuring signatures to these resolutions, gave the paper to him and that after he had procured many of the signatures, the document was placed in his father's office at the Coffee House; which was kept at the corner of Front and Market Streets for public inspection at which place the remaining names were added.

duties impos'd on us, much less to serve as a Medium of our Trade.

"That, this Province is heavily in Debt to Great Britain for the Manufactures & other Importations from thence, which the Produce of our lands have been found unequal to pay for, when a free exportation of it to the best Markets was allow'd of, and such trades open as supply'd us with Cash & other Articles of immediate remittance to Great Britain.

"That the late unconstitutional law (the stamp Act) if carried into execution in this Province, will further tend to prevent our making those

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"These facts have induced me to offer this choice relic to the Society to be deposited in its archives as the most appropriate for its presentation.

"Some years since I loaned it to our fellow citizen, Mr. Thomas Fisher, who had fac similes taken of it which are to be seen in many of our Public Institutions and in various other places.

"With sentiments of respect & esteem I remain

Your Obt. Servant

W^M. BRADFORD.

"The date of October 25, 1765 was placed on the document by my Grandfather Thomas Bradford in lead pencil. I know it to be his writing, it was done at the time he gave me the paper. He was ninety years of age when he gave the instrument to me and in the full vigor of all his powers of mind and body, May 8^th, 1835.

"W^M. BRADFORD."

Remittances to Great Britain, for payment of old Debts, or purchase of more Goods, which the Faith subsisting between the Individuals trading with each other requires. And therefore, in justice to ourselves, to the Traders of Great Britain who usually give us Credit & to the Consumers of British Manufactures in this Province: the Subscribers hereto have voluntarily and unanimously come into the following resolutions and agreements, in hopes that their Example will stimulate the good people of this Province, to be frugal in their use and consumption of all Manufactures, excepting those of America and lawful goods coming Directly from Ireland Manufactured there, whilst the necessities of our Country are such as to require it; And in hopes that their Brethren the Merchants and Manufacturers of Great Britain will find their own *Interest* so intimately connected with ours, that they will be spurr'd on to befriend us from that *Motive*, if no other shou'd take place.

"First, it is unanimously resolved and agreed that in all orders, any of the Subscribers to this Paper, may send to Great Britain for goods, they shall and will direct their Correspondents not to ship them untill the *Stamp Act is repeal'd.*—

"Secondly, That, all those amongst the Subscribers that have already sent orders to Great Britain for goods, shall and will immediately countermand the same until the *Stamp Act is Repeal'd*,—Except such Merchants as are owners of vessels already gone or now cleared out for Great Britain, who are at liberty to bring back in them on their own Accounts, Coales, Casks of Earthenware, Grindstones, Pipes, Iron Pots, empty Bottles & such other bulky Articles as owners usually fill up their Ships with, but no dry Goods of any kind, except such kind of Dye stuffs & utensils necessary for carrying on Manufactures, that may be order'd by any Person.

"Thirdly, That, none of the Subscribers hereto shall or will vend any Goods or Merchandize whatsoever, that shall be ship'd them on Commission from Great Britain after the first Day of January next unless the *Stamp Act be repeal'd*.

"Fourthly, That these resolves & Agreements shall be binding on all & each of us the Subscribers who do hereby each and every Person for himself, upon *his word of Honour*, agree, that he will strictly & firmly adhere to, and abide by, every article from this time untill the first

day of May next, when a Meeting of the Subscribers shall be call'd, to consider whether the further continuance of this obligation be then Necessary.

"Fifthly, It is agreed that if goods of any kind do arrive from Great Britain at such time or under such circumstances, as to render any signer of this Agreement suspected of having broke his promise, the Committee now appointed shall enquire into the premises, and if such suspected person refuses or cannot give them Satisfaction, the Subscribers hereto will unanimously take all prudent measures to discountenance and *prevent* the Sale of such goods untill they are released from this agreement by mutual and general Consent.

"Lastly, As it may be necessary that a Committee of the Subscribers be appointed to wait on the Traders of this City to get this present agreement universally Subscrib'd, the following Gentlemen are appoin[t]ed for that purpose.—Thomas Willing & Samuel Mifflin Esq^{rs}., Thomas Montgomery, Samuel Howell, Samuel Wharton, John Rea, Will^{m} Fisher, Joshua Fisher, Peter Chevalier, Benjamin Fuller and Abel James.

"Thos. Willing
Jams. Pemberton
Jos: Fox
Joshua Fisher & Son
B. Fuller
Saml Burge
B. Sims
Thos Bond Ju
W. Morris Jun
Amos Strettell
Joseph Swift
Thomas montgomery
John Chew
Stamper & Bingham
Abra. Mitchel
John Bayard
John Gibson
Thos. Smith
Conyngham & Nesbitt
Carson Barclay & Mitchell
Israel Morris Junr.
Benja. Gibbs
Francis Jeyes
Robert Montgomery
Saml Caldwell
Jno. Ladd Howell
Saml Purviance Junr.
Jno. Ross Jr.
Benja Wynkoop
John Wikoff
Jno. Hart
Tench Tilghman
Cad & Saml C. Morris
Jos: Saunders
Baynton Wharton & Morgan
Kearny & Gilbert
Saml Smith
Wm Storrs Fry
John Cox Junr.
Abm Usher
Peter Wikoff
Frs Richardson Jur.
David Hall
Stephn Carmick
William Scott
James Budden
Saml Mathey
Jno. Shu
Robt Morris
Thos Wallace
Benjamin Levy
Benj: Swett jur.
Tho Wharton
Danl Rundle
John Nixon
Jos Wharton junr
Persifor Frazer
Enoch Story
Jno Ord
Francis Harris
Saml Morris Junr
Daniel Roberdeau
Wm Lloyd
Jas Harding
Peter Reeve
Sam Hudson

DAN[L] BENEZET
SAMSON LEVY
JOSEPH DEAN
JN[O] & PETER CHEVALIER
DAVID DESHLER
DAVID SPROAT
W[M]. RICHARDS
DAVID POTTS
WILLS & JACKSON
JOHN & DAVID RHEA
REESE MEREDITH
JOS. RICHARDSON
JOSHUA HOWELL
RICHR[D] PARKER
SAM[L] MORTON
W[M] HEYSHAM
JOHN PEIRSE
W[M]. BRADFORD
THO[S]. WEST
BENJ[A] RAWLE
JA[S]. HARVEY
ZAC[H]. HUTCHINGS
PHILIP BENEZET
TENCH FRANCIS
JOSEPH WOOD
THO WHARTON JUN[R]
BENJ[N]. MORGAN
W[M] DOWELL
CHA[S] THOMSON
W[M]. SITGREAVES
CALEB JONES
JOSIAH HEWES
SAM[L] MIFFLIN
THO[S] RICHE
SAM[L]. PURVIANCE
WILLING & TOD
GEO CLYMER
DA BEVERIDGE
GEO EMLEN JUN[R].
GEO BRYAN
TOWNSEND WHITE
PETER KNIGHT
ALEX[L] HUSTON
JOHN SPARHAWK
THO[S]. TURNER
JAMES DRINKER
FRAN[S]. WADE
JAMES JAMES
SAM HOWELL
WILLIAM RUSH
HU: DONNALDSON
ELIJAH BROWN
JN[O] MIFFLIN
JN[O] MORTON
ARCH[D] M CALL
JOHN MEASE
JOHN ARMITT
SAM MEREDITH
CHA[S]. COXE
THO[S]. PENROSE
JAMES PENROSE
DOWERS & YORKE
JAMES BENEZET
W[M] HENRY
GEORGE & JOHN KIDD
PETER TURNER SEN
ISAAC & JO[S] PASCHALL
LYDIA & ELZ HYDE

JOSEPH JACOBS
WM SYMONDS
JNO. ZEST (OR TEST)
JOS: PENNOCK JUR
ROBT TAGGART
WM FALCONER
WILLIAM CRAIG
OWEN BIDDLE
BENJA. HOOTON
DAVID BACON
SAML CARRUTHERS
JACOB SHOEMAKER JUNR.
BARTRAM & DUNDAS
ROBT BASS
PEYTON & ADCOCK
NATH TWEEDY
RICHD. & PETER FOOTMAN
ADM. HOOPS
CALEB HEWES
SAML. FISHER
JOSEPH BAKER
COXE & FURMAN
ROBT. WALN
GEO: ROBOTHAM
ANDW. BANKSON
HUGH & GEO ROBERTS
JEREAH. WARDER
ROB: TUCKNISS
JOHN STEINMETZ
HUGH FORBES
B. F. FOR RANDLE MITCHELL
JOSEPH CLAYPOOLE
RICHD. SWAN
ALLEN & TURNER
JOHN INGLES
JOHN PRINGLE
JOHN NELSON
SAML BUNTING
THO CLIFFORD
ISAAC COX
SAML SMITH
JAMES HARTLEY
SL SHOEMAKER
WM. ALLISON
HYMAN LEVY JUNR.
JAS. WHARTON
JOHN BELL
MAGEE & SANDERSON
HENRY KEPPELE JUR.
JOHN HUGHES
REUBEN HAINES
OWEN JONES
ELISA PASCHALL
BENJAMN DAVIES
HUDSON EMLEN
RICHD. WALN
JOHN KNOWLES
WILLIAM VANDERSPIEGOL
PETER THOMSON
WM. POLLARD
THO LAWRENCE
JUDAH FOULKE
JOHN COX
THEO GARDNER
SAML SANSOM JUN
TH BOND

James Eddy
Philip Kearny Jr.
Rich^{w}. Bache
Jona: Evans
Anthony Stocken
Jo Smith
Hugh M^{c}Culloch
Phil: Syng
Garrett & Geo. Meade
J. Craig
W^{m}: Morrell
John Bayly
John Peters
Hubley & Graff
Thomas Dicas
Mease & Miller
John Reynell
Will^{m}. & And^{w} Caldwell
W^{m}. West
John Leacock
Ja White
John Allen
George Glontworth
William Pusey
Joseph King
W^{m}. & Sam^{l}. Corry
Tho^{s}. Paschall
John Cottringer
W^{m}. Ball
W^{m} Moore
Clement Biddle
Jacob Duché
Joseph Richardson
P^{r} Turner Jun
Jn^{o} & Lamb Cadwalader
Jona: Browne
Will: Humphreys
Jn^{o}. Wharton
Godfrey Laycock
Charles Stedman for Self & Brother
Benj^{a} Armitage Jun
Rob^{t}. Wilson
Sam^{l} Ormes
Isaac Wikoff
Ann Pearson
John Baldwin
Benj^{a}. Kendall
W^{m}. Hodge
John Fullerton
James Stuart
James Searle
Abra Bickley
Ja^{s} Maccubbin
Tho^{s} Cadwalader
James Tilghman
W^{m}. Bryan
Her^{s} Courtenay
Jn^{s}. Moore
John Byrn
Tho Robinson
Christopher Marshall & Sons
Benja Marshall
Abel James signs for Jonathan Zane by his desire.

Sam: Pleasant
Thomas Savadge
W^m. Wilson
Benj^n Harbeson
Benjamin Chew
David Franks
Jn^s. White
John Flanagan
Ben: Booth
Stephen Shewell
Jn^o. & Tho^s Phillips
Lathim & Jackson
Charles Wharton
Alex. Lunan
John Heaton
Charles Batho
Rich^d. Budden
John Dickinson
Philn: Dickinson
Will^m. Logan
John Boyle
Rob^t Harris
Joseph Trotter
Geo: Morrison
E. Milne
Corn^s. Bradford
Woodham & Young
Will^m. Ibison
Stephen Collins
John Head
Jacob Winey
Jn^o Drinker Jun^r
Sam^l Cheesman
W Shippen jun^r
Isaac & Moses Bartram
W^m. Clampffer
A Morris Ju^r.
Andreas Brechell
I Jones for Jones & Wall
Shaw & Sprogell
Hen^y Harrison
P Sonmans
John Wilcocks
John Priest
Orr Glenholme & C^o.
W^m Nicholls
Jos. Morris
Geo. A. Morris
Jn^o. Wood
Walter Shu & Son
Jn^o Kearsley jr
Murray & Blair
Geo Davis
Wishart & Edwards
Ja^s. Alexander
Jo^s & Amos Hillborn
Plun^t Fleeson
Barnard & Jugiez
James Claypoole
Tho^s. Charlton
Isaac Morris Jr
Peter Howard
Marcy Gray
Isr: Pemberton
Rd Humphreys
Magdalen Devine

John Wallace
Caleb Foulke
Rich[D]. Stevens
W[M]. M[c]Murtrie
And[W] Allen
Alex[R] Smith
Will[M]. Fisher
Oswell Eve
Francis Street
Ellis Lewis
Neave & Harman
Lester Falkner
Mathias Bush
Michael Gratz
Barnard Gratz
Dan[L]. Williams
Humphery Robinson
John Bringhurst
James Hunter
Bartram & Lennox
Philip Kinsey
Daniel Wister
Henry Keppele Senior
John Wister
Moses Mordeca his X mark
John Kidd
Thomas Carpenter
David M[c]murtrie
Rob[T]. Hardie
James Wallace
James Fullton
Hugh Bowe
Charles Meredith
John Clayton
Jn°. Relfe
Stewart Duncan & C°.
M[c]Heile & Tolbert
Jos Redman
Sam[L] Mifflin for Phenias Bond
Vincent Lookermary & Son
William Turner
Tho Lightfoot
Tho. Mifflin"

Advertisement of Willing and Morris[15]

"The ship TYGER, George Johnston commander, is just arrived from Cowes and Rotterdan with 350 freights of PALATINES, All in good health;

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[15] *Pennsylvania Journal.* No. 1511. Nov. 21, 1771, page 3.

"Their passages are to be paid to Willing and Morris, and the ship rides at anchor in the river Delaware, near to their wharf.

"The baggage of some of the Palatines that came in the Minerva, Captain Arnot, is brought over in this ship, and the owners are desired to apply as above; there are some charges on its coming down from Germany to Holland, which must be paid to Willing and Morris before said baggage is delivered."

THOMAS WILLING TO MR. INGLIS.[16]

"PHIL^{A}. Augst. 7, 1773

"DEAR SIR:

"Coll° Byrd tells me he designs to send me up a parcell of wheat at such time the next fall, as the prospect may be the most encouraging—I want much to get him & myself discharged from our bond to M^{r}. Watts, & wou'd do everything I cou'd, to get this effected; but as I wish to do this, with as little loss to him as possible; or rather wou'd procure him every Advantage; I must beg of you to give him y^{r} best advice & assistance. The first you'l be

[16] Volume of *Swift and Willing Letters* (*Balch Papers*) in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

able to do from the constant information you'l receive from hence of the state of our Market, & the latter by geting him a Vessell whenever it's best, on cheaper terms than he can do I have wrote him to this effect, & assured him y^{t} you will readily do both, & I flatter myself I am not mistaken, you'l much oblige me by being instrumental in this work, on this occasion, as there is no one thing I wish more, than to get this Old Affair w^{h} M^{r}. Watts settled.

"I shall probably pay off ab^{t} £300- of this debt in a few days, & draw on Col^{o} Byrd in y^{r} fav^{r} for the Amo^{t} pay^{d} at y^{r} October Court. at w^{h} time he assures me, he will pay my bill without delay. I must put myself to some inconvenience by lying out of my Money, & shall give you some unproffitable trouble; but I know you'l be good enough to excuse

"Y^{r} friend & hum Serv^{t}

THO^{s}. WILLING

pray make my Compliments
to y^{r} brother George if still
with you—

"MR. INGLIS—"

Advertisement of Willing and Morris Company [17]

"Just imported by Willing, Morris, and Co. A Quantity of Dryed Hydes, superior in quality to any before imported into North-America, and will be sold for cash or a short credit."

Thomas Willing to General Frederick Haldimand.[18]

"Philadelphia, September 20th, 1774.

"***My brother James intends for the Mississippi, but will I dare say do himself the pleasure to see you before his departure. I wish the situation of Public affairs had permitted you to have visited us here this time. If you are to be delayed until our distractions are settled, I fear from present appearences, it will be much too long; repeated injuries on the one side, and retorted Insults on the other, will probably keep alive the Coal which must consume the vitals of both countrys. I am no great Politician but as an American I both See and feel the chains which are prepared for

[17] Pennsylvania Packet. No. 137 June 6, 1774, page 4.

[18] *The Pennsylvania Magazine:* Volume VI., 1882, page 366.

me. I honor & glory in the reputation of the mother country and I love my own whose liberties and interest are most cruelly and unjustly attack'd. Some humiliation on their part and Some concessions on Ours seems to me the only proper and probable way, of settling the unhappy dispute; they are contending for shadows, we for substantials, which I hope to God will never be risted from us, by the Iron hand of Power; You'l excuse a friend, who having all at stake speaks in the sincerity of his heart and wishes well to both countries****"

Concerning the Appointment of Thomas Willing to the Supreme Court of the Province.[19]

"The Honorable John Penn Esquire Governor & Commander in Chief of the Province of Pennsylvania & Counties of New Castle, Kent & Sussex on Delaware.

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[19] *Penn—Physick Papers.* Volume of warrents to affix the Great Seal, XV 1769—1776, page 80, in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Thomas Willing was first appointed a Justice of the Supreme Court of the Province of Pennsylvania in 1767. He continued to serve in that office until August, 1776.

"To Edmund Physick Keeper of the Great Seal of the said Province Esquire Greeting

"These are to authorize & require You to affix the said Seal to a Commission tested by me and bearing even date herewith appointing Thomas Willing Esquire Third Justice of the Supreme Court of the said Province, and for so doing this shall be your Warrant.

"Given under my Hand & the Lesser Seal of the said Province at Philadelphia the twenty second Day of September in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five.

"JOHN PENN"

THOMAS WILLING TO ROBERT MORRIS.[20]

"PHIL^{A} JAN^{Y} 8TH, 1777.

"DEAR SIR

"I have but a moment before M^{rs} Barry's departure to tell you that I rec'd your's of the 22^{d} Ult^{o} safe together with the others which accompanied it they came to hand only yesterday & shall be copied & sent forward as soon as possible sorry I am for the occasion of

[20] Volume of *Swift and Willing Letters* (*Balch Papers*) in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

them but sincerely hope y^{t} Matters will turn out in the end rather better than you apprehend. The Person in question has been Vicious; he may nevertheless have been honest, if a Man who neglects his trust, can be said to be so—if he has meddled with the Capital funds without applying the Money properly it looks Ill & he must be without excuse—time alone can develop the truth & set our Minds at ease—I approve of all you propose doing with whatever concerns my Interest —I know it is not only safe under your care, but am quite satisfied that it will be managed to the best advantage.

"Give my love to M^{rs} Morris & all y^{r} little Ones. Tell her M^{rs} White set off for Maryl^{d} last (S)aturday accompanied by Isaac Penrose, She was well & hav^{g} had fine Weather I hope she'l get safe to her family. R. W. rec'd. the £300—he has sold off my Grain &c for Paper Money, & now M^{r} James refuses to take it in discharge of my bond—this is hard treatment—R. W. has returned the order I mention'd for £100. to have sent him on you the 14th Ult^{o} & I've cancell'd it—he'l have more than will be of any use to me, as those

People on't receive my debts in Paper Money. I hope your two horses got safe up—M^rs^ Chew is return'd, She's in love with them—I hope you'l get 5 or 600£ for them at least.

"I am my dear Sir with truth & affection

"Y^r^ sincere friend

THO^s^ WILLING.

Exch^r^ at par

ROB^T^ MORRIS ESQ."

"Superscription—*Rob^t^ Morris Esq^r^*

"at Manheim

"Lancaster County"

THOMAS WILLING TO ROBERT MORRIS ESQ. AT LANCASTER.[21]

"PHIL^A^ OC^R^ IST 1777.

"DEAR SIR,

"This will be forwarded to you by a friend who tells me he can send it with safety—the business is to let you know the very disagreeable intelligence I have had from T. Cox & G. Barclay, respect^g^ the shock given to our Credit by our *former* friends in Europe—who

[21] Volume of *Swift and Willing Letters* (*Balch Papers*) in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

have protested our Drafts to a very great amount, these gentlemen say, they heard in N. York, that our return'd bills, amounted to 30000£ Ster^{g} that they were chiefly in the hands of H. Wallace and M^{r} Foliot—M^{r} T. Coxe says y^{t} Sam Kemble told him, he heard in London last Fall, y^{t} our bills were protested to the amo^{t} of £36000—this is a shock, I was not prepared for, by you, or any the least Suspicion of my own, & you must know, how horrid & distressing my feelings must be on the occasion—to have such a demand come upon me unprepared as I am to satisfy it, is terrible indeed—ruin & a Gaol, stare me in the face—If the news is true, I fear I shall sink under it—you alone can calm my fears if its false, or put me in a Way to extricate myself if you believe its true. I therefore conjure you by all the ties of friendship to write me fully on this head directly—let me know what part I can Act when these demands appear, tell me where we have Effects to satisfy them, & what has been the Cause of this unexpected and terrible stroke. A letter sent down to R. W. in Haverford township, Chester County near the Fox Chase—can be sent in perhaps privately—or if discovered no harm can happen, if you confine yourself to this

private business—If M^r^ Swanwicks Messenger comes back it may come under Cover to him—

"We are all well under my roof, & so is M^rs^ White too—God bless & preserve you, I wish your happiness & hope you'l save mine, all in your power, & as soon as you can—my anxiety & distress will be great untill I hear from you—do send down y^r^ letter to R. W. directly—

"I am affectionately y^rs^.

"T. W.

"M^R^ Morris

"Sometimes I flatter myself that the Sum is greatly exaggerated, perhaps by Envy or Malice, or to answer some other purpose but a larger sum I fear is really there, than I have wherewith to pay off—you know my feelings, & I am sure will do the best you can for me—I can't live under such a load."

Thomas Willing to Robert Morris[22]

"Phil^A^ Oct^R^ 13th, 1777.

"My Dear Sir

"This letter I hope will be deliver'd you by our good friend John Brown, whose kind disposition to serve Us has induced him to undertake this journey, he will tell you the great

[22] Volume of *Swift and Willing Letters* (*Balch Papers*) in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

distress & anxiety I have suffered in consequence of the report which prevailed respecting our protested bills of Exchange.

"When I wrote you the 2^{d} Inst. by T. Murdock I was told they amounted to at least £30000 Ster^{g}, but by a conversation I have since had with Dan^{l} Roberts M^{r} Warren & some others, I believe the Sum is by no means so large, & y^{t} the report was calculated only to injure the Credit of our house, w^{h} the Gent^{m} of the Army tho^{t} was made subservient to the American Cause. However, I have reason to think there is a considerable Sum coming here; perhaps 7, or 8000£ D. Roberts bro^{t} me one draft of 4th Sept^{r} 1775 on W. Baynes & C^{o} for £700—in fav^{r} of I & P. Wickoff. Protested in Jan^{ry} 1776 y^{t} was the 2^{d} bill, & he said the first had been sent out long ago, but he supposed was detained at N. York together with above 200 of their other letters, all w^{h} are now coming in the fleet; & that he tho^{t} there was only 4 or 5 other bills of our Drafts amongst them. T. Cox has got one for £120 drawn by James Jones Wilmer on Wm Carmichael & indors'd by W^{m} Geddes, Tho^{s} Ringold & W. M. & Co. This is sent by M^{r} Yeates to be recovered. No other has yet appeared, but I fear that when the fleet

comes up, many more will be presented to me by my last you will have seen my apprehension's on this Subject & how desirous I am to be prepared to acquit ourselves with reputation. You will know I can do this only through your means, & with your best assistance, therefore I beg of you to let me know what steps I shall take, tell me what you know of the matter, what funds we can Use at present, & what prospect you have of providing against the whole extent of this unexpected demand.

"I have rec'd only one letter to the house, w^{h} I now send you inclos'd from B. C. Bewicke—

"I had yesterday the pleasure of seeing Col^{o} Patterson, he has assured me y^{t} he will interest himself to serve me in the recovery of what letters we have in L^{d} Howe's hands covering bills return'd to Us. he is really a polite well bred Man, & did me the honor of a visit—he is all in all at Court, & a better choice, coul'd not have been made; for whatever depends on humanity & benevolence toward the whole human race, may be expected from his well known Character, in short he is a Man of honor & an honest worthy Man—

I have many other things to tell you but dare go no further at present—whatever respects your own affairs, and the disposition I have made of them, M^r^ Brown will inform you, & you must rely entirely on what he says on that subject.

"I lament from my Soul this Cruel separation from the Man I love, & when I think of y^r^ banishment from that stage on which you have trod with such unrival'd reputation, I feel an Anguish not to be express'd—I can say no more! we cannot, must not part forever—this is your proper scene, & here we must one day meet again. God grant it may be soon—remember me to Col^o^ Harrison—I bear him much good will—remember me to Molly & y^r^ Children. I wish them health & Safety—We are all well here—Adieu! attend to the advice of your friend & take care of your health —I am y^rs^

"Tho^s^. Willing."

Superscription—

"To

"*The Hon^ble^ Robert Morris Esq^r^.*

"Member of Congress."

THOMAS WILLING TO ROBERT MORRIS.[23]

The "Tom" mentioned in this letter was not the son of Thomas Willing; Thomas Mayne Willing, who was born the 15th of April, 1767, was, therefore, only ten years of age when this letter was written, and at school in Philadelphia at the time.

"PHILAD^{A} NOV^{R} 3^{D} 1777.

"MY DEAR SIR

"I heartily thank you for the trouble you took in stating to me so fully & particularly the situation of our Protested bills as far as it appeared to you to be within the bounds of probability; and as far as I yet know with any degree of certainty you may be right enough, tho' if there is even to the amo^{t} you mention'd & y^{r} brother does not take them up, I fear I shall soon be made very uneasy here.

"Our friend M^{r} Brown having some business in the Country has got a Pass to carry him out of Town & has promised me either to send you this or to give it into your own hands— I shall therefore make Use of the opportunity,

[23] Volume of *Swift and Willing Letters* (*Balch Papers*) in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

to tell you that Messrs Herries & Co have sent out a Mr Patterson, as their Agent to transact some business for them to the Southward, in the Tobacco Way; & also to call upon Us, for the ballance due them on Acco[t] Curr[t] which I now inclose Amo[t] £7004.10.1 Sterling, but he is content to wait for the Issue of the Dependencies mention'd on the Credit Side of the Account amount[g] to £4100 Ster[g] altho' he say's Sr Rob[t] Herries dont expect any thing like this sum from them —As to the remain[g] ball[a] of £2904.10.1 w[h] Interest Mr Patterson has press'd me much to pay him (torn)ying there is not the least expectation that General Lee's bills for £3000 will ever be paid—Mr Garton has no effects in his hands to pay E'm with, Muir & Atkinson were not disposed to enable him to take them up—in short he believes they had received hints from the Administration to discredit Mr Lee, or that they tho[t] to please Administration by doing so; he utterly denies that Sr Robert had acted under any such influence, when he protested our bills; that his doing so arose only from the state of his own funds, & the very large advance he was already under

—Patterson say's he has at N. York the Sales of all the Tobacco we were concern'd in; that our part of the net proceeds were carried to our Credit in the Account rendered August 20th, 1776—& so was our share of the Ship Commerce—I mention these matters not knowing whether you ever receiv'd their former Account; & if not, that you might not depend on these matters without foundation—let me beg of you to send me bills, and those you can depend upon, on Order's to y^r^ brother to pay this demand off directly in deed my good friend the accounts which M^r^ Patterson has given me of Tom's behaviour in London, leads me to believe he has injured Us with our friends there; his Dissipation, extravagance & Total Neglect of them, & of all business, was a poor return for the Confidence & Credit given him—I fear he is not so well reclaim'd from his folly's as you seem to think, & as he ought to be in order to make Us safe under so large a trust as is reposed in him. God grant he may now attend to the bringing all our affairs to a conclusion; if he does not, or squanders the Substance in his hands, we shall be disgraced, and suffer too—he run thro. £1000,

in London in 3 weeks & never wou'd see M^r^ Herries, or several others of our Mercantile friends—& when going off, he took up 150£ more from M^r^ Motteaux to carry him clear—you'l excuse me for mentioning these things but they are too serious for you not to know them, pray tell me how the point stands with respect to M^r^ Gavin Elliot, & the bill he had assumed to pay; if that bill was actually withdrawn after you had advised him of it you had best order it to be paid to Herries & Co. directly, & then provide for the remainder—This is a most *importunate Scob* & I must satisfy him directly. He wants to go away to N. York, & waits only for a return from you to this Letter—he tells me y^t^ he heard in New York, that we owed H. Wallace, or that he had demands upon Us to £22,000 St^g^—pray had we ever any dealings with that Man for half that Sum—I think not & think too that M^r^ Wallace shou'd have contradicted the report which he well knew to prevail there & that it was false—we have been Ill used by some other's in that City besides him & Cruelly used too. I hope you'l be able to tell some folks so, face to face one day or other.

"The Packet sail'd last week for England & I sent y^r^ letters to Tom under M^r^ D. Robert's Cover who behaved well in readily send^g^ back the bill for £700 St^g^ on W^m^ Baynes & C°. I also wrote to Tom to pay Mess^rs^ Spiers French & C° & also the bill in the hands of Mildred & Roberts belonging to M^r^ West & in short to Pay off all others' which he cou'd hear of & to proceed to settle & adjust all accounts with all possible dispatch—I hope he will comply with our request, tho' he never did answer the letter wrote him by Mess^rs^ Herries & C° on the 11th of March by w^h^ he saw how Affairs stood with E'm. M^r^. Patterson gave me Coppy of y^t^ Letter in Order to give me some Idea of the State of our foreign Dependencies, & I now send it to you for the like purpose—he said it was more particular than he cou'd have been upon Memory alone—but he thinks there is little certainty as to any part except what is in the hands of *their own* house at Barcelona ab^t^ £2000—If so, our fate is hard indeed.

"I have just heard that another Packet will soon go off for Eng^d^ therefore I have earnestly requested M^r^ Brown to carry up this letter

to you himself & to wait your answer & to bring down any Letters you may have occasion to write to your brother or any other's. Pray write Tom in such terms, as will force an immediate attention & tell him as I have done already to retain the proceeds of the (torn) digo &c from the River Mississippi; & not to lodge more of our Property in that quarter. I dislike Mr. Pollock's Conduct altogether & dont wish to be involved any further with him—I told you that T. Coxe had shown me a bill for £120 belong^{g} to M^{r} Yeatis—we were the last endorsers of that bill will you take it up & call on M^{r} Ringold's Executors for repayment? If you conclude to do so, you'l send down the bill by M^{r} Brown for Principal & Damage & I'll send you up the old bill by the next opportunity.

"I was so much a stranger to y^{r} transaction with Gen^{l} Lee y^{t} I don't know how you were circumstanced as to the above £3000; did you pay him for it, or was it only drawn to get his money out of those People's hands? I flatter myself it was for the latter purpose—I also hope the 1000 in M^{r} Elliots possession may not have been drawn for, & y^{t} it will

be at your disposal still. I call'd on Mr White & told her what you said about her going up to Manheim, & offer'd her any assistance in my Power, & you may depend she shall share in my Purse as far as her Necessity's may require & the state of my finances will allow—She is very well at present & so are all other of yr friends here. Under the present prospect of such a Number of our bills coming back Protested, I shall almost fear to make use of the Credits left with me, either on France or Holland. You may be assured the report has been spread far & near & with design to stab Us to the Vitals in the Mercantile World. Curse on the Malice of those who have invented it, or those who with bad designs have spread it. I hope like the Viper in the Fable, they'l find yet a File to Knaw, which may break their Teeth. The time may again come, when some of them may court our favours.

"Adieu my friend! Keep up your Spirits; your character & good Conduct, will still carry you through every present difficulty—you have left many friends behind you, who earnestly wish yr happiness—many wou'd now send

you their remembrances did they know of my writing—None of E'm talk oftener of you, or wishes you better than my little Companion; her Spirits are good, her attachment few but warm & very sincere; your (torn) her particular favorite, & she alway's speaks of you with a warmth & sincerity, y^{t} gives me pleasure—She thanks you for your kind remembrance of her —how does y^{r} little boy? I hope his Side is quite well—My boys leg has healed up & he's in good health I am told. After such an instance don't despair of yours, tho' it may not be well yet.

"Francis came up to Luke Norris's Rope Walk last friday in a flag of truce for a Nurse & the Good Woman—both went off with him & I hope my Sister is well in her bed by this time—he told me he had heard you were well lately.

"God bless you; it's late & my paper is nearly out. I hope to God M^{r} Brown will not be interrupted on the road; this is important business to Us & I hope no one will be so cruel to you or to me as to stop him—I am with true affection yours

THO^{s} WILLING

"M^{R} MORRIS."

Superscription

"To

"*The Hon^{ble} Robert Morris Esq^{r}*

"Member of Congress

"By JOHN BROWN"

Thomas Willing to Robert Morris.[24]

"Phil^{a} Feb^{y}. 6, 1778.

"Dear Sir

"I rec'd y^{rs} of the 10th Ult^{o} by Philip & am surprised you had not then got mine by Barry in w^{h} I told you I had rec'd y^{r} letter of the 22^{d} Dece^{r} together with all those under the same Cover. I felt most sensibly for the unhappy Youth who was the Chief cause of y^{r} writing those letters, & hope we shall not find things turn out quite so bad as they appear at present—he has ruined himself, & I dare say he has hurt Us, both in our Pockets & reputation in some degree; but I cant believe him so wicked as to have taken up all our Money, & not to have paid any of our debts out of it. I am however pleased to hear y^{t} you had forwarded Copy's, as those you sent me have not yet got out of this River —I have got Coppy's, & will send E'm by the very next Convey^{a} W^{m} McKensie declin'd going to Eng^{d} to join his Mas^{r}. I therefore gave the letters to a private hand to be deliver'd to Mess. Herries & Co. to whom the Vessell belonged. She was formerly the Com-

[24] Volume *of Swift and Willing Letters* (*Balch Papers*) in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

merce. As I've not been pressed I have not yet drawn any bills & will decline it untill I can send away the Coppy's of y^r^ letters. No other bills have come here beside those you have been told off, & I hope T. M. has taken some of them up himself, inclos'd I send you two letters from Herries & C^o^ with their A/G^t^ antecedent to that I before sent you. These are all the Act^s^ I have ever seen from them, Altho' M^r^ P. tells me there are Ac^ts^ of Sales &c; in N. York w^h^ he'l let me have when he can, his behaviour is very Civil—the other gent^m^ mention'd by S^r^ Robt are not yet come here—& I hope before they do y^t^ the ball^a^ will have been lessened by further remittances from Barcelona—M^r^ P. tells me the London house had drawn on some of our other foreign Correspondents for £1500 St^g^ but he don't know the fate of their bills he say's—I hope the remainder of the ball^a^ will also be soon in their hands & then those fears w^h^ seem to have possessed them will subside—I believe they tho^t^ we were going to the Devil headlong, 'twill be a happy day to me, when I hear all those Gentry are fully paid; & y^t^ my peace may never again be so disturb'd as

it has been in my fervent prayer. Your peace was more secure than mine, as you knew the reports to be false—I tho^{t} E'm so, but was too much in the dark to be quite easy—T. Penrose desires to know what the Ship Molly sold for—by whom she was sold, & where his part the Value was lodged—he says Green's Ship must have been sold long ago, but he has now wrote his friend to have it done, if it has been delayed—I've wrote I. B. Esq^{r} to the same effect, & gave the like advice respect^{g} Robertson's property—I've directed the house in Lisbon to remit to I. B. Esq^{r} all that remains in their hands & I shall draw on him when necessary, as I propose to lodge any ball^{a} I have in his hands—tell me if you think I am prudent in so doing—I hope the 700£ bill on't return again here—if it come's to Jn^{o} Ross's knowledge perhaps he'l stop it, if T. M. should not.

"Jos. Pemberton tells me he had the 750£ ready to make you the first paym^{t} for the Meadow at the time due, & want's to hear from you what's to be done in that matter—he has an Article of agreem^{t} but no deed he say's—he's willing to fulfill the bargin but the

paym^{t} must be in the Money then Current or else a considerable abatement is expected.

"D. Smith says he has a private Ac^{t} ags^{t} you of ab^{t} £100 besides an order of M^{r} Moylan's of £40 ab^{t} a Negroe—these being allow'd him he'l pay me the ball^{a} but as he is not commonly in a hurry to pay, perhaps you'l have time to tell me y^{r} mind on this subject. Any Accounts you have, to receive ballances from People here, will be welcome to me, provided they are person's you think have honor to pay me when they are able.

"Mr^{s}. Moor, formerly Sally Lloyd, call'd on me to know if I had the deed of settlement made in trust to the Rev^{d} M^{r} Peters & myself at the time of her Marriage, & to w^{h} you are a Witness I believe—I have not got it—you are therefore desired to get it from M^{r} Rich^{d} Peters, nephew & Executor to the deceased, Doct. Peters—get it recorded & then send down *to me* the original—She is much distress'd ab^{t} it & I wish you'd please to attend to this Matter, the worthy husband notwithstanding.

"I. Humphries call'd on me at due time for payment of Dr. Searles bill for £120 2.8 Ster^{g}

& as I've not heard from you, it's under protest—however he can't find the Man who left it with him & he tells me he had from him 8 other bills all in like situation, Protested—I believe it will be kept here untill I hear from you on the subject.

"I wish you'd give an answer to Jos. Gamble's demand of £100—A/on Act settled long ago he say's with W. & M. he say's also he has a demand agst you & Mr Nesbit of abt £200—I am very sorry to hear of Mr Nesbits Illness, but hope he soon got better—pray give my Compliments & good wishes to him—John Allen died the 2d Inst. of a Nervous fever—he has left a Widdow & two little boys—Poor Robt Ritchy died a few weeks ago, he has left 3 Children & but little I believe to support them.

"I am sorry for the trouble given you by Hugh he came here in Compy with Philip—two rascals together—I believe the latter to be so, from his behaviour abt the *letter* he brot down—& the former because you think him such—tell Mr Hogeland, his sister is in town; She got his letter from my own hands, & She is very well.

"Tell M^rs^. Morris y^t^ her Mother set out for Maryland under the Care of Isaac Penrose—Ive heard nothing of her since.

"I've settled Accounts with John Green to the 1st of January & rec'd the ball^a^ of fre^t^ &c. due his Owner M^r^ Pollock £184 Curr^y^—his Vessell is in such a trim that 'twill take double this Sum to fitt her out again therefore he seems to wish to have her sold; I have advised him to it, if he can get her value or near it, & I have some reason to believe this may be done in a few Weeks—I shall write C. W. what you say ab^t^ his bills, 'twill give him great comfort as it has done me to hear it—I hope it may prevent him from coming here at present which I suppose will not be very convenient for him to do—R. W. has rec'd Money enough to pay off any demands he can have on my Ac^t^. You will therefore draw on him for the Money you sent him down if you can conveniently do it, or Ile tell him to send it back again to you, if he has a good Convey^a^ I have no Use for it there, & therefore need not trespass on you for it. Feby 12th.

"Two days ago I was call'd upon by T. Coxe

w^h a draft of T. Tilghman's in fav^r of M^rs Francis dated 1st Aug^st 1776 on W. M. & C° to pay her what Money she may want out of the Effects of F. & Tilghman under y^r Care—I told him I knew nothing ab^t those affairs, had never any thing to do with them, & had it not in my power to pay anything—that I suppos'd you had taken away their books &c. w^h y^r own, and wou'd pay or settle w^h M^r Tilghman, & pay him the kind of Money you had receiv'd for him in his absence—this shows you the necessity of settling such matters as soon as you can, or else such demands will be made on me to be paid in hard money continually—this will be the case in Wilson's & Gibb's affair perhaps—

"Yesterday I got from M^r Patterson a bundle of Tobacco & other Sales, the Ship Commerce's papers, & a blank set of Power's for you to execute relative to Lee's Bills &c. M^r Tod has undertaken to send E'm by a very safe hand to Potts Grove under care of his brother there, or Else to M^r John Philips, to be by one of E'm send up to you—'twill probably be to this bro^r who'l leave E'm w^h M^r. Slough at Lancaster himself—Alex^r Tod say's y^r Marine

Committee owe him £1700—he wishes it may be p^{d} to his brother, & hopes for your friendship to procure the payment—It's a large sum of Money to him, & he is not a little anxious ab^{t} it, it's therefore at his desire I now mention it to you—I expected you'd have got at least 200£ each for your horses, or I might perhaps better have sold E'm for you here, where they were so well known that a good price might have been got for them—

"I am requested to mention to you the Case of my late Neighbor M^{r} Chew—he is almost distracted at his separation from his family—'tis late in the day for him to be thus separated from them, time becomes precious to a Man at his year's, & he has a very large family, and many of them small Children—he's anxious to be permitted to return on his Parole if such a thing can be accomplish'd let the terms be what they may, if he accepts them, I'm sure his honor may be relyed upon for a faithfull compliance. If anything can be done for him, I know y^{r} humanity can only require a hint to prompt you to do it—he has desired I shou'd mention it to you, & propos'd to write to you on the Subject himself—

"By a letter from our fr^{d} R. Penn to Francis w^{h} is in my hands open—I find he and the women were all well in Oct^{r} he has got a fine girl & M^{rs} Penn like to do well—his Son is a lusty fellow he say's. I've not heard from Francis these two months his family are remov'd Ten miles into the Country from the River—Side—They are obliged for y^{r} friendly invitation & shall know the Offer you make whenever I can see, or tell E'm of it—If you have a safe opportunity, you may send me any Ac^{ts} agst People here—such as I think will, & can pay, Ile try to recover. I shall send the Coppy's of my letters ot Eng^{d} in a few days, & when I've given them a Month Grace, Ile venture to pass my bills to take up those y^{t} are here now, (they have not yet increased thank God), and then too Ile direct M^{r}. Burn to take up Cruikshank's bill—Ive wrote Battiere & Co. to take up Wickoff's if neither Baynes & C^{o} or T. M. have done it for I wou'd not on any terms have it out here again after the polite behaviour of D. Roberts in send^{g} it home again—If Battiere & C^{o} pay it & I find T. M. has left funds—I can then order them payment of so much

from those funds wherever they may be found—
I am ever most truly & affectionately y^r^ friend
"THO^S^ WILLING."

THOMAS WILLING TO ROBERT MORRIS.[25]

"PHIL^A^ APRIL 3^d^, 1778.

"MY DEAR SIR

"This will be deliver'd you by y^r^ Old friend Gen^l^ Lee, together with several letters I have rec'd addressed to our late house; some of E'm contain Accounts you ought to see—I wrote you the 20th Ult^o^ under cover of R. S. to his Son John—I then sent you D. Smith's Ac^t^ & told you I had examined his books; the claim he makes ag^st^ you, is £101.5.9 & wants to play off ag^st^ the remain^g^ ball^a^ of £83—his demand ag^st^ Mr. Hancock—this I refused to allow, because I never had anything to do with M^r^. Hancock, & was not authorized to pay or settle his debts—here or any where Else—I doubt my getting anything from Smith speedily but yet will try hard for it—Dugan oferr'd me paper of w^h^ I have plenty now by me that wont now pass but cant pay in any-

[25] Volume of *Swift and Willing Letters* (*Balch Papers*) in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

thing else—Rhoads says he has a demand agst you to the full amo^{t} of my claim—This is for taxes & repairs at y^{r} Meadows on League Island —M^{rs} Biddle has promis'd payment—Duchemin is not able to pay—he's a bad Man & y^{t} debt will be lost—Fritz has long left town—John Duffield has not the cash at present—& H. Lisle says the same thing but will pay when able—Mark Freeman proves the dem^{d} to be a mistake—22^{d} April /75 hep^{d} Hogeland £791.11 the 28th April he rec'd bills £1550—on the 6th May he deliver'd up the rec^{t} for the first paym^{t}. & paying the ball^{a} of the 1550—he took Hogelands rec^{t} for the whole sum in this last paym^{t} M^{r} Hogeland made the mistake of 40/ hav^{g} actually rec'd 758.9/ instead of the sum entered. Jno. Hart is not here & M^{r} Knowles in Gaol—the others Ive not yet seen—As to Major Hay I'm told he is in the fleet Prison at home—M. Batt is at Halifax. I expect very little from either. Captain Chapman is not here or Ide pay him—As to the two M^{r} H——n's I believe they'l pay me nothing if they can put me off.

"I have p^{d} Abby Willing £28.16/ Int^{s} due her to 1st Sep^{t} last—I have p^{d} M^{r} Green in full on Ac^{t} O. P. affairs £109.17.6—

"You'l give me Credit for these Sums, & charge me for those mentioned in my last—Dr. Searle's bill is still here—cant you settle it with Mr. Searle, & send me down his order to Vandam to deliver up the bill. Chas Wharton has got our bill on H. & Co. favr Outh out & Demunx £150 & Isaac Wharton a certified Copy of the protest on the bill Fountain Elwin £300—I've promis'd payment to both by next Packet at wh time Ile pay off Yeate's bill too.

"Let me know what's due to me from Morris & Inglis of Jana the latter is just got back there from Engd & I should like to get what's due to me thence, & as you have my Accounts in yr books I am at a loss. Andw McGlone is out of his Senses & little able to pay—She told me you had a Mortgage how is that Matter? If you have not, this debt is lost—April 4th.

"My letters are a sort of Diary—therefore very unconnected but as I never write but on mere business, its no matter—

"Let me know if you rec'd mine of 20th March with Smith's Actts & when you have Credited him for his demd agst you send me down his Act or he'l keep me Months out of the balla

under pretense of get^{g} it drawn out again; he is an ungratefull—to you you've overlook'd what I wrote you ab^{t} Jos. Pemberton in Feb^{y} last—after what you wrote me of a ball^{a} due from Bewicke's I was surprised to see their Ac^{t} C^{t} now sent you—I see they p^{d} a bill of Cruickshanks 1000 of 14th Sept^{r} 1775, had he two such bills one on Herries and one on E'm too? I've not heard from Spiers & C^{o} or of any other bills but those I've told you off—If you get any news of Tom's hav^{g} p^{d} any, pray tell me of it directly—I hope he has not abused Us to any great extent.

"P. Barry used me very Ill & very ungratefully—he did me great injury, & is too bad a Man to deserve y^{r} protection or fav^{r}. I must not explain myself now—I never knew I had any concern w^{h} M^{r} Braxton; he used my Name in a letter of his of May 1777, now published at New York, & here too—we are also call'd Owners of the Sea Nymph, taken & carried into N. York, but this I know is false, because we never did own such a Vessell, and I had no concern in such a Cargoe, as you will know—but its injurious to me here to have my Name used in this way—I wish I had a

Pipe of y^r^ best London wine—I'm just out—the want of hard Cash, indured me to sell off all I had, as I told you before, & I begin to count the bottle as its drawn—I wish for nothing on Earth so much, as to see you here, before the last I have goe's—God bless you my dear friend—we are not surely parted forever—I sent you part of my private stock of garden seeds; none cou'd be bo^t^—M^rs^ Wood carried part, & betsy to Grame Park also—I now send you a few sugar loaf Cabbage & Savoy's & of our friend Nixon's long Cucumbers, w^h^ I'm told he used to admire, some onion, Salmon redish Seed & some best Cantalope Melon's —when you see him, give my Comp^ts^ and the same to all those you know I was, or am still well with—for I can't forget old acquaintance; tho' we are in different situations at present. I've unbounded Charity for all—but of this no more—My heart feels what my Pen can't express.

"Francis is well, & desires his best wishes, & thanks for y^r^ kind invit^a^ pray tell me what route Jemmy took to get home, & whether you have heard any thing ab^t^ him since he left you—

"I Penrose I fear is swamped w^h^ his fr^d^ T. Powell of London, who it's said has failed;

& 2000£ St. in the former's debt—Ed. Mayne write's in a Stile, w^h^ looks as tho': he ou't be pleased with my ordering him payment of only £500 w^h^ however, Ile not exceed untill you extend it—God grant we may be once clear of all those people, & that the winding up our English affairs, may answer y^r^ sanguine expectations, when this is done I hope you'l lodge something in Safe hands in some part of Europe, but not in France, I never did like those people—I've known more of them prove rotten, than of any others, w^h^ the people of this place were ever connected with—Holland will be more desirable to me—I've a very large family about me & flatter myself I shall after all find something to feed Em with thro; these expensive and very distressing times—I doubt neither your friendship, abilities—Honor or attention, in whatever concerns me, & draw great comfort in knowing that what man can do, you will do—

"My Sister, M^rs^ Powell and Nancy, desire their good wishes & best Comp^ts^ to you & all under y^r^ roof. Adieu I am & ever shall be

"Most truly & affectionately

"Y^rs^ Tho^s^ Willing.

"I wrote to C. W. some time ago—to Morris & Ingles also, by M^r J. Green. I've a considerable Sum by me in old Paper rec'd before the stagnation, but flatter myself it will be again Current here before long—"

THOMAS WILLING TO ROBERT MORRIS.[26]

"PHILAD^A APRIL 27TH, 1778

"MY DEAR SIR

"Yours of the 31st March I rec'd the 19th Inst & that of the 29th March reach'd me only yesterday—my time to answer them is rather short but I shall say all I can; for writ^g is something so like talk^g to a friend, that I have a pleasure in doing it when you are the object of my address—

"And first of all it's incumbent on me to remove any Ill impressions you have rec'd respect^g poor Wilson—he never gave me pain ab^t his Money, by even asking me for it, he mentioned it very modestly, & before he heard anything of our Bill affairs, & his information arose rather out of what I said to him, than from the least distrust on his part—he is very

[26] Volume of *Swift and Willing Letters* (*Balch Papers*) in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

much Our friend, & shew'd it evidently when y^{t} malicious report came first here—he snubbed several chattering fellows & I'm sure wou'd go as great lengths to serve you or me, as any Man on Earth—he often spoke of you with the greatest respect, & behaved to me with attention—& friendship, at a time, when such behaviour from an honest man, even in his low sphere, cou'd give me comfort & pleasure—If you can ever serve him, he deserves it at y^{r} hands for his gratitude—As to M^{r} Gibbs I believe you have been misinformed—he is not in town, nor has he been here—I believe him to be, as you say "A good Man" but yet both ought to be paid in proper Currency & it's well you wou'd take care of these matters, had M^{r} Gibbs been here a prisoner I shou'd have paid him apart most chearfully —I've deliver'd y^{r} Messages to M^{rs} Robertson, & M^{rs} Green they are well—Robertson was in Quebec the 24th Oct^{r} last w^{h} his ship, was bound home & to sail in 10 Days—I hope you'l soon hear y^{t} O. P. has paid your Draft on him—I wish to be clear of a Man who cou'd act so base a part as he did as to poor C. W.

"T. Penrose desires his best good wishes to you—he is our friend & farr from doubt^{g} y^{r} ability or inclination to settle all Matters properly—I told you before I believe y^{t} he is like to suffer w^{h} T. Powel in London—he thinks at least 2000£ St^{g}. I observe y^{r} answer as to I. Burn & shall take care not to trespass on him or any other man in England—I order'd E. B. & Sons to remit him all my Money & I've order'd him to pay E. Mayne £500 St^{g} & to take up the bill in spiers French & Co^{s} hands if not done by T. M.—& if he has not funds I've desir'd Mayne & Spiers to call on Battier & C^{o} the letters are yet in this River —I've not yet drawn any bills on London except one for a single £100 St^{g} on Pringle & Cheap for a particular purpose & y^{t} is not gone out of my hands. Next month I shall have bills on E'm for ab^{t} 800£ St^{g} & have advised them & Battier of it, when I see Ricketts & I Pemberton shall let you know what they say—M^{rs} Moor shall know what you say ab^{t} her Deeds; at present she is at her house in the Country—As to poor Tod—he says 'twill ruin him if you fail as to his claim, but he thanks you for y^{r} promise of service, as to

the two Casks of Lond. Particular—I thot when you sent me up those Casks unfilled, you had taken two in like situation for y^r^self & charg'd neither yourself or me for them—I sold the whole, except one hhd, as you have been advised. If I am right in any Idea of the Matter, you shou'd not charge me for the two mark'd. T. W. however; what you do, will be right I'm sure in this & everything else that concerns me—I wou'd not now have E'm kept for me at any rate—I B'° wife went down to see him at Notingham last week—I'm glad to hear he is well & to find by his own letter y^t^ he was so kindly rec'd at Manheim—I never doubted this, but you knew he must desire to get home if possible & was therefore anxious for him—I hope y^t^ neither he or I have made One Good Man our Enemy—When R. W. has paid off all my accounts he'l probably send you what Money he may have left.

"As to Hero, I tried everyway to get him to come to me; even y^r^ old neighbor I. Bringhurst, spoke to him, but all in Vain—at least I found out his home in Coomb's Alley, this day; & such another Dwell^g^ for a human Creature

I never saw—I don't believe there is one so miserable in this City—I saw & talk'd long with him, but all in vain—he says you were a good Master, but he don't like the Country & cannot consent to go out. I gave him every assurance in my power; promis'd him cloaths & every indulgence; but all in Vain. I then told him the Consequences of a refusal—he still persisted, knowing the advantage he had over me—he is very Ill & can hardly speak to be heard at a yard's distance—I suspect his disorder is of such a Nature, that you'd not be very safe to take him into y^{r} house at present—he agreed to think longer of the matter & to let me see him soon again—If I can do anything by fair means I will—as to harsh Methods they 'ont do at present for many reasons—

"E. Story & W^{m} Clifton have both promis'd me their Act^{s} with W. M. & C^{o} the latter say's You have had it once already; & by his manner I conclude there is nothing due *to* him—whatever there may be *from* him. Neither Cap^{t} Chapman or Batt are here—Ile keep those Accounts by me, & so I must Cap^{t} Innes & Lieu^{t} Lander, neither of them being in this

place I believe. I wrote Cap^{t} Adye & inclos'd his Act but have yet rec'd no answer from him. I Dougan offer'd me paper in paym^{t}. & said he had nothing else to pay with—I Duffield told me he has a demand for Demurrage 10 Days' of Capt. Amiels Vessell at Lisbon w^{h} will over ball^{a} the Act that he tole you often of this, & you promised to settle it with him & he expected you'd allow it—Ile send for T. Bramal & do all I can with him & all others in the like situation, but I've not yet got one penny from any of the Debts due Us—When I see old Rob^{t} Tombs Ile let him have the money you desire—I have spent two hours in Smith's room y^{s} morn^{g} in the re-examination of y^{r} Account—he's very confused. very Ignorant & stupid as to business of this sort, & I don't think quite blameless in the present Instance—The rec't is so blotted that no one can tell the handwriting with any certainty; but by the cut of some letters I believe it's wrote by the same Clerk who wrote others in his books, there is neither Swanwicks or M^{r} Hogelands hand there I think—however I've rec'd y^{s} day Sixty pounds in part from Smith & he promises to pay me the remain-

ing ball[a] as you settle it except the Interest for the Negroe, who turned out sickly & drunken —he sold him for £110 only w[h] appears from the Note he got for him, & y[t] on Credit too—I believe you must let him off without Interest—he expresses great esteem for you tho: I don't think he deserves much from you indeed. I shall be able by fair means I hope to get clear of him, & shall be very glad of it, for he is a great fool & puts on a great deal of consequences—he has got more money than he ever expected—the Madura bill is still in M[r] Humphries's hands—the Man who left it there has never call'd or sent for it, & Humphries don't know his name—I left the anwser you desire about it, & hope you'l take care to pay it off. As to Ann Meredith I believe I was not wrong in the sum I've paid her. If I was so, I was misled by the Note w[h] is all in y[r] own writing, and was the only rule I had to go by—inclos'd you have an exact Copy of it & of the only rec't on it's back—I believe the Error is in y[r] hav[g] entered the Principal Sum £95 only on the 6th May 1772, & then calculated Int[s] on that Sum—in short you'l compare the Note I send

w^h^ the Act in y^r^ books—if any Mistake I'le get it back again—you'l give me Credit for £4.3.6. p^d^ Postages &c. to y^s^ day & £109.17.6. the whole amo^t^ of disbursements on Acts of O. P. & £28, 16/p^d^ Abby Willing Int^s^ due to the 1st Sept^r^ last. I believe I told you of these in a letter you don't acknowledge you'l also charge me £33.4/net proceeds of two hhds. of damaged Tobacco belong^g^ to my brother & you'l Credit the proper sale for the same—I've not seen M^r^ Stansbury but I don't expect he'l take the Sum you offer for the bill as he seemed to me to expect a much greater advance—I shall therefore give him a draft on London next month.

"April 28th. W^m^ Clifton has sent me his A/C^t^ & you now have it inclosed—M^rs^ Ross gave me last Week y^r^ letter of Credit, which is sufficient; & you may depend on every assistance I can give her in that and every other way that may be usefull to her. I sent you the 15th Inst. under the care of W^m^ West of Whitemarsh a blank cover cont^g^ a letter from y^r^ old acquaintance Gov^r^ Johnstone dated 5th Feb^y^ last, & also two letters from D. Strachan & C^o^ of Oct^r^ 1776 & feb^y^ 1777 in these

they make Us in their debt ab^{t} £409 St^{g} I think. I hope y^{t} Cover got safe. It's well y^{r} friends packet by M^{rs} Wood got safe—Miss Stedman promis'd to send you the like articles from Grame Park. I long to hear from y^{r} brother or at least of him by means of M^{r}. Ross, & hope his conduct will be cleared up more to his Credit than we apprehend it cou'd. As to Battiers ball^{a} being paid E'm in a way you had not learn't; perhaps they have taken some such step as Messrs. Crawford did with our Money in the hands of D. S. & C°. at least what they meant to take—pray had they any considerable demand, or what was the Cause of their laying an Attachment on what they tho^{t} our property—surely these people have forgot all former Confidence, or tho^{t} we were going to the Devil headlong, but I hope they will find Emselves greatly mistaken, & that the time will come, when we shall resume our former Countenance, & be able to look them all in the face, but peace to them all! If I cou'd but see your face once more, I shou'd be more happy than ever I have been for some months past—I take the liberty to send you a few Garden Seeds; they are all I cou'd get

from a friend of mine, & he says they are fresh & good.

"I don't recollect anything further on the Subject of business, and as we never write upon Politicks, I must relieve you from this long letter—I have much to say to you on my own particular situation; but (bound in) better let alone now—I hope still to be happy in the esteem & friendship of the Man in the World I love most, & for whom I have every feeling of affection & regard. Adieu! & believe me to be

"Yrs &c.,

"ThoS Willing.

"You see I have altered my mind as to the wine; let your friend sell them again.

RobT Morris EsqR

Superscription—"To

"*Robt Morris Esqr*

"at Manheim

"Lancaster County."

THOMAS WILLING TO JOSEPH REED.[27]

"PHILAD^A OCTOBER 1ST, 1779.

"SIR:

"My brother, Charles Willing, has resided in the Island of Barbadoes for many year's past, when he went from this place, he left his two children under the care of his mother. A weakness in his nerves made a voyage to the Northward necessary, and a desire of taking home his Daughters has induced him to come to New York, where he now is, and requests permission to come to Philad^a and to remain here until the Spring, and then to return to New York on his way to Barbadoes with his Daughters. If this request is not too great, I beg the favor of you to lay it before the Hon^ble Council as soon as it may be convenient, and that the necessary Pass may be made out.

"I have the honor to be Sir
Y^r Obliged and Obed^t
hum Serv^t
THOMAS WILLING.

"*His Excellency Jos. Reed Esq^r*
President of the Hon^ble Executive Council."

[27] From the Simon Gratz collection of manuscripts.

Thomas Willing of Philadelphia to Mr. Ingles.[28]

"Phila Nov^{R}. 13th 1781.

"Dear Sir:

"In expectation y^{t} you are on y^{r} way up, I shall lodge this at Baltimore, where you'l please to inform y^{r}self if its worth while for Us to send down any of the following Articles. Tubs of Steel of 112lb net—worth here 20 Dol^{rs} Ravens & Russia Duck 150/ to 160/p p^{s} Chints Callicoe & Brittanias, now sell^{g} at 2/9p Liv^{r} Sattins, Paduasoy's, Sw^{g} silk, Nankeens Bandannoes, are sell^{g} at 3/ for 12^{d} St^{g} cost, Cloths & Duffels 3/3p Liv^{r}. If any of these articles will answer better than here, we have plenty—I've just got y^{r} Letters of 27th & 31st Oct^{r} and am not sorry to see you are not like to plague y^{r}self with any purchase at York you'l have your hands full with Vessells of our own in all probability—The two Brig^{s} got to Maestrand the 1st & 3rd Sept^{r}. were unloaded by the 6th and wou'd sail in all y^{t} month full ships.—I hear nothing from Kollock or of him but believe he'l have

[28] *Blackwell and Willing Letters* (*Wallace Papers* Volume IV) in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

no Vessell to come out with—I've Insur'd 16000 Liv^{rs}. on Delaware & Cargoe at 30p C^{t} & the like Sum on each of the others at 25^{a}p C^{t}. I mean 8000 on each Vess' & 8000 on each Cargoe our A/ct. There's no Vess. offering for Europe & I believe Tobacco will sell as well here to the full—its got to 27/6 Maryland and 37/6 for Virg^{a}. I've bo^{t} as much as I want for the Cutter before this great advance in the price.

"No news yet of Wilson but as the cutter had such continual westerly winds we are not yet uneasy—I have the pleasure to tell you that your little Girl is exceedingly well—y^{r} Brother George is at N. York & want^{g} to come here which can't be allow'd at present but on such terms as won't suit him perhaps—I've sold off all our Tea 6/ to 6/3 the price is now rising but on the first arrival twill be down again—by the Papers you may see what honours you have arrived at, we want you here to bear your part in this great undertaking of the Bank—I am truly & very

"affectionately y^{r} fr^{d}
& Kinsman
"Tho^{s}. Willing.

"Exch[e] 5/9 to 6/p Liv[r]

"No news stirring here. Maryl[d] Tobacco was sell[g] at Maestrand from 8 to 10p1 ℔ but Virg[a] in more demand here.

M[R]. INGLIS."

THOMAS WILLING TO WILLIAM MOORE PRESIDENT OF THE SUPREME EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF PENNSYLVANIA, THE 9TH OF FEBRUARY, 1782.[29]

"SIR,—The President, Directors, and Company of the Bank of North America, incorporated by the United States, in Congress assembled, have thought it proper to petition the General Assembly for a similar charter, and such support from the government of the State, as may render the bank capable of yielding those advantages to the general cause of America which are intended thereby; and this institution being encouraged and supported by citizens of other States, as well as that in which it happens to be established the most respectful and proper mode of presenting the petition to

[29] Lawrence Lewis Jr. *A History of the Bank of North America*, Philadelphia, 1882, page 44.

the Honorable House appearing to be through the Supreme Executive Council of the State, we have inclosed the same to you, and request you to lay it before the General Assembly as soon as they shall meet. I have the honor to be

"Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

THOMAS WILLING, PRESIDENT.

"His Excellency William Moore, Esq., President."

THOMAS WILLING TO ROBERT HARE AND WILLIAM BINGHAM.[30]

"GENTLEMEN

"Having deliver'd you a coppy of my Uncle's will & two Codicills—& also a letter to Cap^{t} Stirling & M^{r} Warren the two acting Executors, I must desire you will at leisure read over the whole, & then deliver the letter to either or both of those Gentlemen—you'l also converse w^{h} them on this Subject & inform yourselves whether anything, & how much, is coming to me a residuary Legatee, after all the abuse I have evidently suffered by the interposition of Geo: Hand—you'l also inform yourselves of the ages & health of the Annuitants, who take before me the Long bank annuity, & what may be the value of my Ex-

[30] Volume of *Swift and Willing Letters* (*Balch Papers*) in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

pectancy, if I shou'd incline to sell it next Spring—you'l further enquire respect[g] the small Estate I have mentioned in my Letter to the Executors, & where the deeds for it now are—If my Uncle did actually renew the Leases, & the right is vested in me as he meant it shou'd be when he spoke of the matter to M[r] Francis, I hope you'l take Care to get the deeds & lodge them with M[r] Warren or other safe hands for my security.

"If you shou'd on enquiry think it advisable for me to sell the Annuity or there is anything to be received as residuary Legatee—some power of Attorney will be necessary for me execute to you perhaps to get the thing completed. If so please to send me out the proper form for each Case to prevent any delay—

"I need not say how much I wish your health & safe arrival, it is a wish of all others nearest the heart of your affectionate friend

THO[S] WILLING

"Phil[a] May 8th 1783"

Superscription

"*Mess[rs] Rob[t] Hare*

&

Wm. Bingham

"*London*"

Thomas Willing to Sir Walter Stirling and Peter Warren in London.[31]

"Philad[a] May 25th 1783

"Gentlemen—

"The late unhappy Contest between G[t] Britain & America, has prevented my addressing you long ago, respecting the affairs of my Uncle's Estate—I make no doubt the whole has been closed before this time, and that you wou'd have furnished me with a state thereof, had the communication been free and open as before—

"As the residuary Legatee to so near a relation and so warm a friend, dying possessed of a considerable Estate, it's very natural for me to suppose that he meant to comply with his former declarations, and to leave me something more than base words, or a distant Expectancy; that this was actually the case in his first will, I am well assured of and cannot doubt he was a Man of his word; his promises were never made in vain; but it was my great misfortune, that when my Uncle was extremely weak, deranged in his understanding, if not

[31] Volume of *Swift and Willing Letters* (*Balch Papers*) in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

quite unable to judge for himself, this Will was put into the hands of an artfull, self interested Man, to manufacture at his own discretion, by this means the Testators declared & benevolent intentions toward me were perverted and led, *basely* led, into a channel, which he never intended; at least so farr as G. H. and his family were benefited by the alterations of the old will, & the Codicils of this truth, M^r^ Warren, who I believe to have been the worthy and confidential friend of my Uncle must be fully persuaded he must have known the terms he had long ago been upon with all of that family, *except* his Sister, he respected none of them.

"I shou'd not again have touched on this subject but my nephew Charles Stirling told me when he was here in 1781, that you were all satisfied of the gross abuse; and manifest injustice done me, in the Codicils particularly and that you were fully convinced too, by whom it was done, & that my suspicions had not been, as you once tho^t^ them to be, "entirely groundless"—however! there is now no help for it. The time is past for remedy; the Will, *& Codicils* too, have all been proved

and I must put up with the abuse, and the loss I have sustained. I shall make no further reflections! I have now, on my part, done with the subject, & hope that our correspondence in future, may be more agreeable to all parties—

"As to you Gentlemen, I have never entertained the least doubt, but that you have and will ever do me justice in every particular, as the acting Executors of the Will of your deceased friend, and that you will give me the necessary Information respecting this business.

"My brother in Law M^{r} Rob^{t} Hare, or my Son in Law M^{r} W^{m} Bingham will deliver you this letter; and as I have desired them to inform me the Value of my expectancy on the Long annuity were it now to be sold, you will please to give them any information you can on this head, and generally communicate anything that may be necessary for me to know, or to do, as residuary Legatee or to secure the payment of the Annuity at a future day to myself or to my Children, if the Reversion shou'd not be sooner sold by me—M^{r} Francis was told by my Uncle that there was a small Estate in the family of ab^{t} £24 per

annum, which had been in it many years, & w^h^ after his death wou'd descend to me—I suppose he meant a place call'd Tockington in Gloucestershire—please to say what you know of this Estate; where the deeds for it are, what's it's value, & whether there is any reason why the deeds shou'd not be deliver'd up to you as Executors—I know not the nature of the Estate, as M^r^ Francis don't recollect particularly—only y^t^ my Uncle said it had been a great number of years in the family, & that he wou'd renew the Leases in my behalf—

"You will please to excuse this trouble and believe me to be Gentlemen with respect & esteem

"Y^r^ Most Obed^t^ hum. Serv^t^
THO^S^ WILLING

"Sir Walter Stirling & M^r^ Peter Warren } two of the Executors of Tho^s^ Willing Esq^r^ late of London deceased."

THO^{S} WILLING TO—[32]

"MY DEAR SIR

"You had left the Cape a full week, before the Pilot bro^{t} me your letter, & y^{t} from my dearest daughter—It gave me great pleasure to find by her letter, y^{t} She was like to make so good a Sailor, & y^{t} She had got over her terror & Seasickness so far as to be able to write correctly & free from tremor. we have heard of M^{r} Vaughn's arrival in London in 66 days after his departure. God grant that I may be so happy as to hear of the arrival of my best beloved friends in as short a space. poor Peggy paid the roast I find by M^{r} Hares letter—however as she cast up her accounts so soon, I hope she farred the better afterwards, & that her anxiety for her little boy, was soon removed, by his recovery. We are all well & nothing new since your departure except the daily arrival of five or six Vessells; they pour in from every quarter, no Sale for anything except English goods of particular kinds—Nixon & Lewis were chosen in Directors by

[32] Volume of *Swift and Willing Letters* (*Balch Papers*) in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

every Vote but two—our dividend will be 6½ if not 7 pct. for the present Six Mo^s—Carter has now 110 Shares and they go off fast—M^r Inglis was in treaty with Mr. Whiteside for 400 hhd^s Tobacco, but he wou'd not give 40/therefore no bargain. S. I. will tell you how the load^g goes on at Baltimore, as he has taken up that Correspondence—the price is rising in Virginia & is only 36/ at Baltimore at present, but as Vessels are get^g in there very fast it will probably get up to our price before long—Tell M^r Hare that Warren arriv'd here from Bristol yesterday and call'd at my house y^t day I did not see him. I hear he has bro^t over a Cargoe of beer Porter &c. our Market is glutted, M^r Twells says with these articles, & y^t there is little Sale for them. M^r Twells has rec'd the Wine & Isingglass from L'Orient & from Holland too, & desires M^r Hare may be told y^t everything goes on very well here—he's a clever Man I think, & I believe M^r Hare may make himself easy about his Management—Charles has not taken his passage, but shall go to M^r Gilmore in the first good Vessell for Amsterdam; & of this I beg you will advise M^r Gilmore—farewell

my dear Sir, give little Nan a kiss for me & don't forget her Mamma too—tell Peggy y^t^ the family are coming in to sit down with a p^c^ of beef, with bacon & Windsor beans—I shou'd be happy to help her to a part—She's so honest a Soul, y^t^ she'd do justice to the joint I am sure—God bless you all, take Care of yourself & all the party, & believe me to be with great truth, your affectionate friend

THO^S^ WILLING.

"Sunday June 22^d^ 1783.

"I saw y^r^ Sister drive by in a Gust of rain last Even^g^ from Bethlehem—I hear they are all well in Pine Street."

FROM THOMAS WILLING TO—[33]

"PHILA. OCT. 20TH 1783

"DEAR SIR

"I wrote you a long letter by Cap^t^ Aull, who I am told is still in the River—however, I can't let Cap^t^ Truxton go off without tell^g^ you and my dear daughter that we are all perfectly well at this later day—your tobacco affairs are just as they then were, except that

[33] Volume of *Swift and Willing Letters* (*Balch Papers*) in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Cap^{t} Lockton arriv'd three days ago w^{h} 105 hhd^{s} from Wiccommocoe on the Eastern shore of Maryl^{d}. He tells me it's three year's old, has Stood on the bare ground & in the worst order he ever saw any; much of it is quite rotten it wou'd not sell there, & our lost friend M^{r} Inglis, sent his Brig^{t} around to bring it, as the only chance there was for you to get anything—not one hhd of y^{r} tobacco has, or cou'd possibly be sold at the Warehouses; & here the Sale is dull indeed. we have now here ab^{t} 300 hhd^{s} & no purchaser that I can find for a single One—I expect to learn from W^{m} Young y^{t} he has collected & sold what he cou'd get at in Virginia; but in the mean while I am press'd to discharge the two notes you left in Bank—it's absolutely necessary they shou'd be soon paid off—we really want it & it's considered as a trespass—I told you y^{t} M^{r} Inglis before his death had p^{d} me 6000 D^{rs} towards pay^{g} for the 17 Shares you left unpaid for & y^{t} he had paid M^{r} Lewis 8000 in part of y^{r} Note to the latter—I tho^{t} it wrong in M^{r} Lewis to take it out M^{r} Inglis's hands, & told him yesterday he ought to replace it to enable me to take up the Note

you left in Bank; but this I see clearly he don't mean to do, & I am determined this 105 hhd^{s} now come shan't go into his hands, but be sold or ship'd to Holland, if too bad to sell here & we'l draw on M^{r} Gilmore for it's value—Money I must soon have or be forced either to sell part of y^{r} Stock or draw on you to pay into the Bank whats wanted there—You have been grosly abused in the purchase of several parcels of the Maryland tobacco—no person would even touch it at the warehouses after they saw it, & some y^{t} has come here, was absolutely not worth the Expense of bringing it up—you may depend that we shall never be able to pay two third of the Notes in Bank by any Sale we can or have made, or by draw^{g} for any we may ship. My Interest shall be used to keep all quiet untill you can give me advice whether to sell off part of the Stock or draw on you or M^{r} Gilmore to enable me to pay the ball^{ce} The Export of Silver for Europe has made it necessary to curtail our discounts, & to call in our debts—M^{r} Lewis has ab^{t} 170 hhd^{s} in his possession but can't sell one—M^{r} Swanwick & he, will both push off all they can but a

sale can't be forced when the Commodity is so very bad—those Men on James River have used you Ill and those at Georgetown to whom M^r^ Russell sold ab^t^ 50 or 60 hhd^s^ & to be p^d^ in August last, now say they can't pay before next May—M^r^ Inglis had paid before his death all he had sold or received, so that my prospect is truly a disagreeable One as to the discharge of y^r^ two Notes of 30000 & 8,000.

"By poor Sam's death our late partnership is at an end; a new one commences under the firm of Will & Swanwick—by this event our articles w^h^ M^r^ Gilmore are also void & R. M. & M^r^ Swanwick decline to have any further concern in that house, Therefore M^r^ Morris will write to M^r^ Gilmore immediately on this Subject & perhaps make some new proposal to him that may be mutually beneficial—for certainly we can't expect M^r^ Inglis's Executors; who are M^rs^ Inglis, W^m^ McKensie, Sam: Cadwalader & M^r^ W^m^ Ronald of Virginia, to continue any part of his little Estate further at risque—you will also decline every concern, if any, you & Sam had in contemplation. We shall have enough to do, to settle old affairs.

M^r^ Inglis's death was a shock to me, & his own family; no one had the least suspicion of any danger—I am so very much engrossed where you left me, by the very great increase of business; that I have never spent half an hour out of the bank since you left me; & our hours are extended from 9 to one & from 3 to 6 in the Even^g^ & little time enough too—II must soon quit or I shall be hurt every way—The stock has got to 12½ if not 15 pct. advance, but few only will sell—we shall soon be compelled to enlarge the Subscription—Abby has taken great pains to send my dearest Nancy a Cask of our own Apples—She went up to Tackony, engaged them in a perfect scramble, sent up next day for them, & has at last got them on board—Cap^t^ Truxton behaved kindly indeed, & insisted y^t^ he wou'd have the pleasure to carry them—Nancy is his very great favorite—he speaks of her to every one in raptures—pray give my best & affectionate love & blessing to her—I long to know that She is relieved of her burthen, & in perfect health & happiness—don't fail a Conveyance any how to tell me how you both are, & the Moment she is Safe in her bed, tell

me of it—Remember me to my dear Sister & to poor Hare—I wish to know that he is well, & y^t^ I may once more be certain of seeing him again—y^r^ Mother came here yesterday to sign our firm book—I secured 6 Share's for the Old Lady, in the hurry on the 25 July last—She's much pleased indeed at it—Hannah is in a very Ill State of health—She'l not be long for this world I'm sure—the room has this moment 30 People in it, & I can only say y^t^ Francis has got the gout & I am heartily tired. 6 o'clock.

"Adieu

"I am ever

"Y^rs^ most affectionately

"THO^S^ WILLING."

Onback—"Exchange is now at 70 to 72½ pct."

THOMAS WILLING TO WILLIAM BINGHAM[34]

"PHIL^A^. NOV^R^. 29TH 1783.

"MY DEAR SIR:

"I never got y^rs^ of 27th August from Amsterd^m^ untill the 24th Inst. & the former one you mention respect^g^ 50 Shares of stock has

[34] *Provincial Delegates*, Volume V. in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

not yet reached me—If it had you will have seen by mine dated in Augst that nothing cou'd have been done more than I did w^{h} was to take up & pay for the 17 left by you—these you cou'd not have saved thro' any other person but myself—I did not obtain a single one for my own share—and it has been with great difficulty I have kept y^{r} largest Note on Interest here rather than draw on you for it—You'l have seen by M^{r} Lewis' & Mr. Swanwick's letters the reasons why no Cash has been p^{d} me to take up the above Note—I hope to get from Nm. ab^{t} 10000 D^{rs} in a few days out of some of y^{r} Tobacco now in M^{r}. Lewis's hands—I have never meddled in the sales shipments or direction of the Tobacco business further than to whet them up to do all they cou'd do for y^{r} best Int. Poor Sam, did all he cou'd but was taken off so very suddenly y^{t} he cou'd give no account respect^{g} it—he often told me of the bad quality & condition it was generally in & the difficulty he was under ab^{t} it—what's in Virg^{a} must be shipped & drawn for & the ball^{a} after all I shall be forced to draw on you as you may direct—I will keep off if pos-

sible untill you can write me in answer to this—you are deceive in y^r^ expectations y^t^ y^t^ the tobacco here, will pay the note of 30000 —remembering that I have already p^d^ 6000 for Stock 8000 to M^r^. Lewis & also p^d^ off y^r^ Note in Bank for 8000 we have determined to lay before the C^o^ in January a plan for enlarging the Stock of the Bank & I now send you the plan w^h^ is unanimously agreed to by the Directors & w^h^ I believe will be confirmed so y^t^ you'l be excluded as well as myself from any more shares before the 1^st^ August next—unless you get some other person to act for you in the Matter—we are going on better than you can believe & I shall be forced to stay another year to close this second Subscription—the confinement is great, but I have the best of all rewards, the general voice & approbation—Our dividend will be 6½ or more in Jan^ry^ next. I thank you for your tho^t^ of my Son Charles but alas, he is not fit to be trusted in Amsterdam. I must send him to sea to break the neck of a set of bad Company & other Ill consequences of his stay here—I thank Mr. Gilmore & I thank you on his Subject. I wish I cou'd thank him for any

comfort, but he has almost rob'd me of mine—he's an Idle boy—Peter's keeps in the Country when I can, I will see him, and buy the Lot if I can at any reasonable price.

"I sent your tea Urn or Kettle, by the Phil^{a} Cap^{t} Towers to Amsterdam & referr'd M^{r}. G. to you for further Orders—I p^{d} a weding visit yesterday to y^{r} sister—She is the wife of M^{r}. Blackwell, to the surprise & dissatisfaction too of very many—She begs her love to you, & y^{t} you'l excuse her not writing by this Vessell—She has reserved all her Estate, real & *personal* too by an act of settlement by w^{h} she can by will, dispose of both as she pleases, not only what she now has, but any reversion after her Mother's death also—I'm sorry for this Event 'twas foolish & somewhat Indelicate too—I don't think her health was in a state to justify such an engagement—She can't live long I verily believe New York is our own at last—All the world are driving there—The Congress are getting together at Annapolis—they are not a little dissatisfied with what they have done—but don't know how to get clear of the embarrassment—they'l come back hereafter to the old stations; I verily

believe they will & that sooner than you may expect.

"I rejoice at the favourable expectations you seem to have form'd of the Establishment at Amsterdam; I wish Mr Gilmore every degree of Success—& I wish you may have resolved to keep the concern with him—but in my circumstances, it don't suit me—without the concurrence of R. M. & Mr. Swanwick, its impossible for em to hold it, and they are both avers to keeping it up—I think myself the resolution right, now yt a peace has taken place which will furnish our acting partner with employment enough—all I am anxious abt is least Mr. Gilmore may suffer any inconvenience by the removal he has made—

"I shall wait with great impatience to know yt my dear Nancy is well out of her Laying in & also that her Children & you are all well—pray give my best love to her, to Mr Hare & my dear sister—excuse my writing—I have strained my Thumb, & write in some pain & with much trouble—I'm in the Bank where we are really crowded with business now & every hour in the day—Our transactions are on a medium 280 entries per day and

1000000 to 1200000 per week our open Ac^{ts} above 700—

"God bless you and all about you and believe me to be affectionately y^{rs}. T. W.

"M^{r}. Stevenson presents an Ac^{t} of his brother's demand^{g} 1700 Eustatia Dollars & In^{t} ab^{t} 2½ years mak^{g} above 2000 D^{rs} in all—I've offer'd to pay him the principal sum, at w^{h} he is dissatisfied—pray tell me if I must allow the Int. or not M^{r} Lewis seems to think its right to pay him. Let M^{r}. Hare know y^{t} M^{r}. Twells is just gone out of the Bank—he is perfectly well and get^{g} Barley at 5/6 to 5/8—plenty.

Superscription—"*W^{m} Bingham Esq^{r}*
"Bloomsburg Square."

Thomas Willing 12th May, 1785, to James Wilson.[35]

"As to the business of the bank the whole must be left to your prudence to take such steps in Congress as the magnitude of the question and the complexion of that body may render necessary and proper. "Fiat justitia

[35] Lawrence Lewis, Jr.: *A History of the Bank of North America*, Philadelphia, 1882, page 63.

et contentus sum." With the Assembly the word is "Carthago est delenda," let the Congress judge for what end or purpose, and let them consider too that when this political child of theirs has once breathed its last, they have no Promethean power to call another into existence; confidence once lost is not often, if ever, to be regained. This is, perhaps, the only instance where a politic body has been annihilated, and private interest and property violated, without the least charge of abuse of power or malpractice suggested, much less proved before a jury of twelve men. In the present case not only the Constitution of the State is violated, but the Confederation of all the States is also violated, and a stab—a mortal stab—is given to the honor of Congress and the credit of all America. We have served our country, and served her in the worst of times, when our present opposers gave no assistance to the means of doing it. Let them consider this, and blush at the return they are now making. Let the Congress, too, consider this, and then determine whether they ought not to exert their influence with every State to support an institution to which they

have given an existence, and from which they have received a dutiful return. I have devoted a large portion of my time, and, considering the period of my life, a very precious part of it, too, to the service of my country in the establishment of the bank, but it is my pride, it is my greatest glory, that it has thus far succeeded. To preserve it from destruction, and to further our public measures, I would still go further, I would devote the few remaining years I have in its service rather than it should fall a sacrifice to the delusion of party, or to the insidious designs of Tories and British emissaries. God grant that this may not be the case. To prevent it, I conjure you, by every tie you have to the institution of which you were an early protector, by every tie you have to the country you live in, to exert every nerve in its defense."

THOMAS WILLING TO WILLIAM BINGHAM.[36]

"AUGUST THE 29TH 1785.

"MY DEAR SIR

"I thank you & my dear daughter for your letters by the Belfield; She arrv'd safe the 16th inst. and all our friends in good health—

[36] From the Emmet manuscripts in the New York Public Library

the accounts they give of you and yr. family are highly pleasing to me, who am so deeply interested in your happiness & welfare—It was very natural for Nancy to wish to gratify her curiosity fully, by staying another year—She had cross'd the Ocean already, & had an indulgent friend in you, ready and able to gratify her—I am contented; & the more so, as my state of health is good and I've as fair a chance as ever of living to see her, shou'd your return be delayed till next year.

"I find from Mr. Hare y^{t}. you were going to France to settle the business w^{h} Mr. Marbois had in hand here—I wish you had taken care of some claims w^{h} Mon. T. Sargenton & Mr. Delacombe had against you at Martinico—The latter has brot. suit, & you are summoned to appear there the 27th Septr. next, as you'l see by the papers I send you inclosed—you have a coppy of my answer y^{s}day to Sargenton fils at Baltimore—I don't know the foundation of the Action brot. by the Owners of the Rattle Snake, they have not yet filed their declaration, & the Summon's is generally to answer in a plea of debt—it will, I believe, be put off till April term next—Wilson is y^{r}. lawyer.

"Our Assembly is sitting—They have attack'd us with all the violence of party rage—but I believe they'l drop the attack before the end of the Session. You have a pamphlet enclos'd, wrote by Ja^{s}. Wilson—This, is wrote solely for Congress & the Assembly—other Fugitive & Weekly pieces, will directly follow, to suit the people at large—I don't despair, altho this, & the other attempts we have withstood have cost me much trouble & pain of mind—I shall soon write you again & probably may send your Act with me as yr. Attorney—its now abt. a ballance—I have not time to say more than that. I am ever most affection your's—

"Tho^{s}. Willing.

"Give my best love to Nancy & her dear little ones. We are all perfectly well—

"August the 30th

"Our last dividend was 3 pct paid to M. Lewis & Co. for your use—as was also the year's Ints. on y^{r}. loan Office Certificates abt. 4000 Dollars, for w^{h} he gives you credit as so much specie hav^{g} paid it as such to the

Impost Office—I expect another payment this fall on those Certificates—this is sad letter writing, I am interrupted every minute—I had good luck in turn^{g} the last years paper & this last payment into Specie; the disc^{t} on it now, is 7½ to 10 pct. I have piled up abt. 50,000 feet of as fine boards as I ever saw. I stop'd buying because the price was so high, as £8 for one inch, & £15 for 1¼ do. for floors—You have enclosed all y^{r} Acts. with me to this day for your Inspection—

"Wm. Bingham, Esq."

Thomas Willing to Benjamin Franklin.[37]

"To His Excellency Benjamin Franklin Esquire, President of the Supreme Executive Council of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

"The Petition of Thomas Willing President of the Bank of North America Most respectfull sheweth, That Joshua Pusey late of the City of Philadelphia merchant and Miller us-

[37] Volume of *Swift and Willing Letters* (*Balch Papers*) in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

ing and exercising the Trade of a Merchant and Miller and seeking his living by buying and selling became indebted to the Corporation of the President Directors and Company of the Bank of North America upon just and good Causes and Considerations since the sixteenth day of September in the Year One Thousand Seven hundred and eighty five in the Sum of two hundred Pounds lawful money of Pennsylvania and upwards, and that the said Joshua Pusey of late that is to say about the thirtieth day of June last past did become Bankrupt within the Meaning of the Acts of the General Assembly of this Commonwealth for the Regulation of Bankruptcy, to the Intent to defraud and hinder the said President, Directors and Company, and other his Creditors of their just debts to them owing: In Consideration whereof may it please the President to grant unto the Petitioner the Commission of this Commonwealth to be directed to such and so many wise honest and discreet Persons as to the President shall seem meet, authorizing them thereby not only concerning the said Bankrupt his Body, Lands, Tenements, Goods, Chattels, Rights, Credits and Estate whatsoever, but

also concerning all other Persons whatsoever, who by concealment, Claim or otherwise do or shall offend touching the Premises or any part thereof contrary to the true Intent and Meaning of the said Acts. To do and execute all and everything and things whatsoever as well for and towards Satisfaction and Payment of the said Creditors as for and towards all other Intents and purposes according to the Provision of the said Acts concerning Bankrupts.

"And your Petitioner as in duty bound will pray &c.

"THO^{S} WILLING."

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF THOMAS WILLING.

"PHILADELPHIA, FEBY THE 4TH, 1786.

"I, THOMAS WILLING of the city of Philadelphia, Merchant, in the fifty-fifth year of my age, and thro' the favour of God, in perfect health and strength, which I consider as an ample reward for a life of Sobriety and Temperance, do hereby transmit to my Posterity, for their satisfaction and information, the following account of the family and stock from which

I am descended, and which I believe to be authentic, having collected the same from old family Bibles and such other authorities as I believe to be true.

"Joseph Willing of Gloucestershire, the first of the name of Willing, of whom I have any written account, married Elizabeth Plaver in the year 1672. She died in 1675, leaving him two sons George and Joseph, one born in 1673, the other in 1675. The said Joseph the elder, married his second wife Ava Lowle, in the year 1676, by whom he had issue, Martha in 1677, Mary in 1678, Thomas born January 16th, 1679-80; Richard in 1681, James in 1683, and Samuel born in 1688. His daughter Mary, married Stephen Burcombe on Monmouth. She had a daughter called Anne, who said in my hearing when in Bristol to my Grandfather Thomas Willing, that her Grandfather Joseph was a Welshman, and that the family name was now spelt differently from what it used formerly to be. Thus far, the material parts, are taken from an old family Bible printed in the year 1614, and the Genealogical account is in the handwriting of my Great Grandfather Joseph, whose family was originally from Wales. He,

himself, was a Farmer, settled in Gloucestershire near Bristol.

"Ava Lowle his wife and my Great Grandmother, had a good estate in Gloucestershire, which had descended to her thro' several generations from her Saxon ancestors. A small part of it, at Tochington in the said county, which rents for about £27 per ann., is settled on the family, and after the death of my Aunt Anne Willing, will descend to me. The deeds are I am told in the hands of my Aunt Dorothy Hand at Litchfield. This old family Bible was presented me, by Mary Syme Willing now living at Temple-Cloud, in Somersetshire. It was brought from England last summer, by my sister Margaret Hare. The said Mary Syme Willing is the only surviving child of Richard, the second son of Joseph by the second venture.

"Thomas Willing, my Grandfather, was eldest son of Joseph by Ava Lowle. In the year 1704, he married Anne Harrison, a woman of fine genius, good education, and excellent understanding, who brought him a very considerable fortune. She was Granddaughter to Thomas Harrison a Lawyer of the Inns Court, Major-General in Cromwell's time, and a member of

the Long Parliament; and also Granddaughter by the Mother's side of Simon Mayne a Gentleman of Lincolnshire; both members of the court which condemned Charles the First, and principal actors in Cromwell's time (see Ludlow's Memoirs and State trials. Vol. 2d). By her, he had issue, Charles, Dorothy, Mary, Blanch, Anne and Thomas who died in the year 1772 at Longford in Middlesex. He had been a Merchant in London, one of the Directors of the African Company, a man of abilities, sound understanding, and fair character. He came to Philadelphia with my Father in the year 1742, and returned to England in two or three years.

"The first of the family who came to America was my great uncle Richard Willing, about the year 1710. He soon returned to Bristol, where he married and died. He was buried in the Mayor's Chapel, College Green.

"Thomas Willing, my Grandfather, came to Philadelphia in 1720, went back to England in 1725, and returned again about 1728, at which time he brought his eldest son Charles, my Father, whom he left in Philadelphia, and soon went back again to Bristol, where he died in 1760, in the eighty-first year of his age, leaving

behind him the character of an able and respectable Merchant, and a very honest, worthy man. He is buried in St. Michael's Churchyard in Bristol, under the tomb he had erected for my beloved and much honoured Grandmother with whom I had lived seven years, and from whom I had experienced the greatest tenderness during my infant years. She died the 11th of September, 1747.

"The Town of Wilmington, recently called Willing's town, in the Delaware State, was laid out and considerably improved by Thomas Willing—a kinsman of my Grandfather's, by one of his half brothers George or Joseph. He came over from England, with my Grandfather, and married a Sweedish woman, by whom he got the tract of land on which that Town now stands. His descendants are all dead.

"Charles Willing, my much beloved and honoured Father, was born in Bristol the 18th of May, 1710, and on the 21st of January 1730-1, he married Anne Shippen, only daughter then living of Joseph Shippen, and Granddaughter of Edward Shippen of Philadelphia, who was one of the Council in 1701, and one of the Commissioners of Property for the Proprietors of Pennsylvania, and the first Mayor of Philadel-

phia. He left one of the best estates then in the Province, having brought into it at his first coming at least £12,000 sterling personal estate. He was born in England in 1639, and came over to Boston with his wife Elizabeth soon after the Restoration. By his wife, he had several children born in Boston, of whom it does not appear that any lived to full age, except Anne, who married Thomas Story the first Recorder of Philadelphia, his son Edward who married Francina Vanderheyden of Maryland (by whom he had issue one daughter, the late Mrs. Jehyll), and my Grandfather Joseph Shippen, who married Abigail Gross of Boston in the year 17( ) by whom he had issue, my Uncle Edward of Lancaster, Joseph of this city Merchant, William, now of Germantown, Physician, and my Mother. My said Great Grandfather Edward Shippen came from Boston to this City about the year 1688. When he left England, he left behind him one brother called William, who had issue four sons; Robert a Clergyman, William a Lawyer, and Member of Parliament in the Reign of George the first, and George the 2d, [38]Edward a Physician, and John a Spanish

[38] See the Memoirs of Lord Chesterfield, page 35.

Merchant. He came in his own coach from Boston to Philadelphia, lived much in the style of a Gentleman, built three of the largest and best houses then in the City, and he died in the year 1712. He had married a second wife ( ) Richardson, who died without issue. Afterwards he married a third wife Hester James, whom he left his widow, with one child only, by her called William, who died in his 22nd year.

"My father Charles Willing having married Anne Shippen my Mother on the 21st day of January 1730-1, had issue eleven children—myself born the 19th day of December 1731, Anne, now the wife of Teneh Francis, Dorothy who married Walter Sterling a Captain in the British Navy. She died at Glasgow in Scotland in October 1783 (having gone from her home in London to visit her daughter), Charles, and Mary who married Wm. Byrd Esqr of Virginia, Elizabeth the wife of Samuel Powel Esqr. Richard, Abigail, Joseph who died an infant, James, and Margaret the wife of Robert Hare. My Father died of a Nervous or Gaol Fever the 30th of November, 1754, in the 45th year of his age, this disorder then prevailed much in Philadelphia. He was particularly exposed to it by

his office of Mayor, to which he had then been appointed for the second time, and which office he had filled with distinguished honour to himself and satisfaction to the public. By great industry, care and ability, he acquired and left a clear Estate of about £20,000 sterling, and raised on a Capital of £500 sterling given him by his Father, and the like sum given him by his Aunt Dorothy Mayne. He was a very healthy man, yet died in the prime of life. In his person he was of a handsome manly figure, rather tall and full made, of a healthy, fresh complexion. Cheerful in his temper and behaviour, he was affable and courteous to all, but remarkably kind and affectionate to his family and particular friends. As a Merchant, he was eminently distinguished for his abilities and enterprising spirit—by which he extended and enlarged the trade of Pennsylvania—as well as his Candour and Integrity. As a citizen he was greatly useful, and therefore universally regretted.

"To all my descendants, who may read this true and faithful account of my worthy progenitor, I have only to say, that it is my earnest prayer, that they emulate his character and virtues, and never disgrace the much honoured stock they have sprung from.

"By transplanting his family into this Country, he has placed our lot in a Land of Freedom, a wholesome climate, and goodly soil. By his own good conduct, and the consequent esteem of his fellow citizens, he has given us a letter of extensive credit, to which I have found due honour in every part of the mercantile world—He has paved the way for a favourable reception to us all. I have not, I hope and trust, placed any thorne in the path; and I flatter myself, that those who follow me, will still keep it clear as long as our name shall be remembered.

"My Father was one of the first Trustees, and one of the founders of the College and Academy in Philadelphia in the year 1750.

"As to myself, I was the eldest of Eleven Children and was born on the 19th of December, 1731. Before I was nine years old, I was sent to England to my Grandfather, who placed me at school at Wells in Somersetshire, under the care of the Rev. Robert Wheeler, with him I remained about four years and a half. In September 1748, I went to London, and spent six months at Watt's Academy in Windmill, St. On the 19th of May 1749, I returned to Philadelphia, where I served my Father in his count-

ing house till his return from England in October 1751.

"In the execution of his business during his absence, I had given him so much satisfaction, that he took me into partnership with him. This continued to his death Nov. 30th, 1754, at which time, I think I had—with the profits of our Trade, the amount of a small estate at Quadring in Lincolnshire which descended to me from my Great Aunt Dorothy Mayne, and which my Father sold for me while in England at the price of £550 Sterling, and the legacies left me by my Father—about six thousand pounds sterling clear estate. The constant, but necessary attention to my business, and the affairs of my Father's estate and large family of young children, prevented my marrying till the year 1763, at which time, on the 9th of June, it was my happy lot to marry Anne McCall then in her nineteenth year, one of the most deserving of her sex. She was the eldest daughter of Samuel McCall by his wife Ann Searle, and Granddaughter of George McCall, both then dead, but who had been very respectable Merchants of this City. The latter was a Scotchman by birth, and came here early in the present century. He was much of a Gen-

tleman, and died possessed of a handsone fortune besides 14,000 acres of land at Manatawney, in Philadelphia County confirmed to him by act of Assembly in 1735. By my affectionate and beloved wife, who died the 5th of Feb'y 1781, I have thirteen children, viz:

"Anne, now married to Wm. Bingham.
Charles, who died in 1765.
Charles, the second of the name and now living.
Thomas Mayne, called after Dorothy Mayne.
Elizabeth, my fifth child.
George, who died in 1769.
Mary, my seventh child.
Dorothy, my eighth child.
George, the second of the name and now living.
Richard, my tenth child.
Abigail, my eleventh child.
William Shippen, called after my Uncle Wm. Shippen.
Henry, my last child, who died in 1781.

"In 1754, I attended the General Congress of all the Provinces at Albany as Assistant Secretary, to the Delegates of this Province.

"In 1758 I was appointed one of the Commissioners by Law, for carrying on the Trade of

Pennsylvania with the Western Indians, then in Alliance with Great Britain, and held this Trust in behalf of the Public about seven years.

"In October 1763, I was elected Mayor of Philadelphia. In October, 1764, I was chosen Member of Assembly for the City, and continued my seat until I resigned it in 1767, being then appointed one of the Justices of Supreme Court. This station I kept till Feb'y 1777; when our Government being then changed, this trust passed into other hands, but I was the last who acted in Office of those who had held commissions under the old Constitution. In the year 1774, I was President of the Provincial Congress, and in the years 1775 and 1776 was appointed a Delegate in the Congress of the United States for this State; and was present when the vote of Independence was passed in Congress in 1776.

"I voted against this Declaration in Congress, not only because I thought America at that time unequal to such a Conflict, as must ensue—having neither Arms, Ammunity, or Military Experience—but chiefly because the Delegates of Pennsylvania were not then authorized by their instructions from the Assembly, or the voice of the People at large, to join in such a vote.

"On the 2nd of November, 1781, I was chosen President of the National Bank, [39] in which station I have continued till this time, having been unanimously re-elected at each Annual Election, and having received the thanks of the stockholders for my services at the General Meeting, together with a present from them of five shares of stock as a further mark of their approbation.

"In giving the foregoing account of my Ancestors, and those of my Children too, no apology is necessary. They have all been worthy characters, and deserve to be remembered; but, as I have gone into some particulars respecting myself, and wish to avoid the imputation of vanity or self-adulation, it behooves me to assign the reason for the recital, unentertaining and therefore uninteresting to the world at large, but to my children it may be of use. It offers to them a lesson of Example which often strikes the youthful mind more forcibly than Precept.

"I have been greatly successful in my endeavours to increase my fortune; I have enjoyed as much domestic happiness as most men, and have received many flattering marks of public esteem and confidence. I have through life, enjoyed

[39] This was the Bank of North America, in Philadelphia.

great good health, and at this day am free from any of those complaints which often attend a life of less regularity and Sobriety. My success in life has not been derived from superior abilities, or extensive knowledge, a very small and scanty share of either having fallen to my lot; therefore it can only be ascribed to a steady application to whatever I have undertaken, a civil and respectful deportment to all my fellow Citizens, and an honest and upright conduct in every transaction of life.

"I cannot boast a descent from any of noble blood, or high rank, in the estimation of the world, yet our forefathers have left us a nobler claim of inheritance than those alone can give. They have been worthy honest people, and left a character perfectly unsullied.

"The purity of the stream has not been polluted by me, and I fondly flatter myself it never will be by any descending from me.

"THOMAS WILLING.

"BANK OF THE UNITED STATES,
August 25th, 1802

"Having accidentally taken up and read the foregoing paper, I think proper, with a grateful

sense of the favours and mercies I have received from the Supreme Being, to note, that although a Malignant Fever has raged with great violence in Philadelphia in the years 1793, 1797, 1798 and 1799, and although so many instances of its direful effects have happened within the last five or six weeks, as to induce about one-fourth part of the Inhabitants to retire to the Country, yet, blessed be God! I have escaped without—excepting in 1793 I had a slight attack of said Yellow and then contageous fever—and am now in perfect health, and by the favour and confidence of my Fellow Citizens am still in the execution of the Office of President of this Institution.

"THOMAS WILLING."

THOMAS WILLING TO RICHARD BASSETT OF DELAWARE.[40]

"BANK, FEB. THE 6TH, 1786.

"RICHARD BASSETT, ESQ[r].

"SIR:—I have this moment the Honor of yours of the 3[d] inst., covering the Charter granted to the Bank of North America by the Patriotick Legislature of the Delaware State. It is too late

[40] Original Minute book of the Bank of North America.

this Evening to lay it before the Directors, and your Express is anxious to go off early in the morning. Therefore I can only say for myself that I feel in the highest Degree the Obligation the Institution is under to the State of Delaware for thus kindly taking us by the Hand, and giving us their protection, at a Time when our misguided Assembly here, have Attempted most unreasonably to crush and destroy us.

"I thank you for the Service you have done us, on this Occasion, and you may depend on the Warmest Zeal on my part to render every Service to your State, and the many Worthy Individuals of it, whenever it falls within my Line of Duty, either in the station I now have the Honor to fill, or as an Inhabitant of Pennsylvania.

"I am, Sir, with the highest respect,

"Y^{r} much Obliged humb. Serv^{t},

"THOMAS WILLING, PRES^{dt},"

"Advertisement of
Willing, Morris and Swanwick.[41]

"For sale, in Penn Street.

* * * *

"Hyson and Bohea Teas, in whole, half and quarter chests, of the last importation from China.

French cambricks, lawns, silks and sattins,

Mens and womens plain and coloured gloves,

Gold lace, India and French chintzes and callicoes.

Italian silks, silk handkerchiefs and oil cloth umbrellas.

Scotch threads, checks, buckrams, rattinets, etc.,

Queens ware, China plates etc, in crates and boxes,

Marble chimney pieces, slabs and paving tiles,

Zant currents in barrels,

Roll brimstone in boxes,

Old Martinique coffee in bags

French brandy in pipes,

Claret in boxes, of three and four dozen each,

Madeira, Teneriff and Sherry wines.

"May 6, 1786"

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[41] *Pennsylvania Gaz.*, May 10, 1786, No. 2919.

The following minute in the handwriting of Thomas Willing is on a separate sheet of paper inserted in the original minute book of the Bank of North America. This paper is thus endorsed on the back: "Minutes of the Directors on the Bank Charter now before the Assembly Nov. 23^{d}, 1786."

"At a Meeting of the Directors of the Bank of North America On Thursday, the 23rd of November, 1786

"Present:

1—Thomas Willing, Pre^{t}
2—Thomas Fitzsimmons
3—John Nixon
4—Samuel Powel
5—John M. Nesbitt
6—John Ross
7—Richard Bache
8—Andrew Tybond
9—Josiah Hewes

"Mr. Nixon and Mr. Powel were appointed a Committee to advise w^{t}. Mr. Wilson whether the Directors will be justifiable in receiv^{g}. from the Legislature of Pen. a Charter for a limited time or in any other particular differing in its Modification from the Congress Charter.

"The Committee hav^{g}. consulted w^{t}. Mr. Wilson as Council on the above Question report, That he is decidedly of Opinion 'that the Modification of the Bank Charter as to limitation of Time or Capital will not effect the Congress Charter, and that it will not be improper for the Directors to receive such Charter from the Legislature of Pennsylv^{a}.'"

THOMAS WILLING TO WILLIAM BINGHAM AT NEW YORK.[42]

"1788 MAY 6

"MY DEAR SIR

"Altho. I am not fond of writing on political subjects, yet when I see the spirit of my friends flag & despond, & as I think, without any substantial cause, I can't help administering a little Comfort, now it is in my power—Other members of the Virginia Convention whose letter's you have seen, may be left sanguine than y^{r} fr. Corbin; but it don't follow, that he has judg'd amiss in expressing his belief & hopes. I hate your lukewarm patriots—he wrote as he tho^{t} & what is more, as he wished too. I honor him for it, and for the trouble he gives himself

[42] From the Library of Congress.

to comfort the friends of the New Constitution here by his frequent letters to you & to D^r^. Rush on the subject. I believe you'l find y^t^ he has not been greatly wrong with respect to the final issue of the business—I have just seen a letter from Mr. Madison w^h^ gives me hopes, & warm well founded One's too, y^t^ all will go right, it's dated on the 18^th^. Another from M^r^. S. Smith of Baltimore with an extract from Gov. Randolph's letter of the 18^th^ to him—in this the Gov^r^. says—"the number of the voting members is 168—of w^h^ 76 are decided Antifederalists—82 as firm for the adoption—Ten who have never yet declared themselves, but y^t^ he had the best assurances that one half were with us, & since the Scruples of some had been quieted by a peculiar form of Ratification, which will be offere'd—but after all, it will be unfortunate to decide such a question by so small a Majority—and I am restrained from pressing previous Amendments, by the Conviction that it will hazard the Union & are unattainable; the number's on each side are so respectable, y^t^ they command equal respect & deference."

"Since writ^g^ the above from memory, I

have got a Copy of the above letter, & send it you herewith. I dare say you'd sleep the better for it—I have some reason to believe y^{t} the Kentucky Member's will not vote on the Question—they expect to become "a separate State, & therefore by stand^{g} aloof may hereafter make better Terms—at least they

this is the state as far as we have grounds for Calculation before any question has been taken—

a more
in than

—they believe so—I had wrote thus far when I got an Extract of M^{r} Madison's letter w^{h} you have No. 2—Adieu! I have been interrupted 40 times since I began this scrawl. Nancy & the girls are quite well, & so is

"Y^{r} affectionate fr—

"When you write next to my Daughter D—I desire you will treat her as a Child, & not put it into her head, *poor babe;* that she is now, or soon ought to be a fine Lady—such language is enough to turn the head of any Brat in town—The Scotch Sash is very pretty—"

THOMAS WILLING TO WILLIAM BINGHAM AT NEW YORK.[43]

"MY DEAR SIR

"I rec^{d} y^{rs} of the 30th ult by the post yesterday, and have sent forward the letter from Mr. Kearney by a near neighbour of his. I saw Col^{o} Howard pass by last night and don't hear y^{t} he is ab^{t} to leave town before our Gala day is over.

"From my heart I congratulate you on the news from Virginia, their Ratification has put an end to the dying faction here, and will totally extinguish the flame w^{h} a few only of this city had kindled in the Western Country.

"Pickering's captivity in North^{d} County has not any connection with the federal question, it is purely an ill judg'd step to retaliate for the capture of Franklin who is still in our Gaol.

"I write this only to send you a copy of M^{r}. Madison's letter to T. Coxe, it is pleasing to see that the great business has been conducted with so much regularity. Other letters say "that the greater part of the minority at Richmond

[43] From the Simon Gratz collection.

have declared their intentions to assist the federal Government now that a majority have agreed to accept it, and say that their votes in many instances were given in compliance with their instructions, tho. contrary to their own private inclinations and judgment."

"Nancy and all other's whom you care for are perfectly well, except yr. poor brother. Adieu! I am truly sorry for your very long detention from us—but remember y^{t} an absence now may cost you and others many long year's of the like inconvenience hereafter. As to the request you make respectg certain advances to the Public, we'l let it alone till I see you here. Once more farewell.

"I am affectionately yours,

THO^{S}. WILLING.

"Bank July 2^{d} 1788."

THOMAS WILLING TO JASPER YEATES, ESQ. AT LANCASTER.[44]

"BANK JAN^{RY} 17TH, 1789."

"SIR

"Agreeable to your request, I have invested the 720 D^{rs} you sent me by Latimore in the

[44] Volume of *Blackwell and Willing Letters* (*Wallace Papers* Volume IV) in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

purchase of two Shares of Bank Stock transfer'd to you this day by George Simpson, which at a discount of 10 pct. costs you exactly the Money which you did me the honor of entrusting to my disposal. I have lodg'd these Shares in the hands of our very worthy friend & Kinsman M^r^. Burd, which I suppose will meet your approbation.

"I sent M^r^ Burd word, that I had two more at my command, there is more who want just now to buy, than to sell; and as he told me some time ago that he tho^t^ you wish'd to have more, it wou'd have given me pleasure to have assisted in y^r^ accomodation on this Occasion, as it will ever do on any other.

"I am, Sir, with perfect Esteem
Y^r^. Obed^t^ hum Serv^t^.
THO^S^. WILLING."

THOMAS WILLING TO ALEXANDER DONALD, ESQ.
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA.[45]

"PHIL^A^ SEPT^R^ 3^D^ 1789.

"SIR

"Having rec'd y^r^ fav^r^ of the 11th Ult^o^ & attend^g^ fully to all you say, respecting your commencing

[45] From *Letters of Members of the Old Congress—(Dreer manuscripts)* in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

a Suit ags^{t} Coll^{o} Harrison at present, & the delays which in such Case, he will have in his power to create, as well as what you propose respect^{g} the federal Court, & the kind offer you make of doing me all the Service in y^{r} power, if left to your managem^{t}. I have determined to do so, fully confiding in y^{r} kind endeavours to serve me in this very tedious & cruel delay of justice. It now embarrasses me much to be kept longer out of Money w^{h} I have so long paid on this Gentlemans Account—he can't make me amends for the trouble & anxiety he has given me—nor will the Interest of money whenever he pays it off, make me amends for the Sacrifice which I have been forced to make of property sold at less than it's value to pay his debt for him, when the judgment was obtained ags^{t} me.

"You know that M^{r} Eppes took a mortgage of negroes, "as he said fully sufficient to cover this debt," & that he wrote to me to bring a Suit for recovery of my demand—now it may be proper for you to have his consent to postpone the Action ags^{t} Coll^{o} Harrison, or else perhaps I may hereafter be charg'd with neglect^{g} an opportunity while the Debt might have been will secured—If you were to speak to M^{r}

Eppes on the Subject perhaps he may approve of the delay as well as y^r^ hum. Serv^t^.

THO^S^ WILLING.

"M^R^ ALEX^R^ DONALD.

"I can believe in its fullest extent, what you say ab^t^ the property offered for sale by the Coll^o^ when he does not even propose to pay anything out of his Crop this year; every part of which wou'd most certainly sell for ready Money & a good price too; at least I may say so of his Wheat & Corn—If he wou'd ship any part of either or of both to this Market I wou'd sell it to the best advantage free of Commission—

Wheat is now 71/ per bus. of 60 lbs.

Corn at 3/9 pe^r^ d^o^"

RESOLUTION OF THE PRESIDENT AND THE DIRECTORS OF THE FIRST BANK OF THE UNITED STATES.[46]

"At a meeting of the Directors of the Bank of the United States, December 29th, 1791.—

[46] From the Emmet manuscripts in the New York Public Library.

"RESOLVED

"That the President be authorized to appoint such persons as he thinks proper in the several States to receive all Interest due to the Bank of the United States on the first day of January next.

"In Testimony whereof I have caused the Seal of said corporation to be hereunto affixed this eleventh day of January 1792.

"THOS. WILLING,
"*Prest.*"

RESOLUTION OF THE PRESIDENT AND THE DIRECTORS OF THE FIRST BANK OF THE UNITED STATES.[47]

"At a Meeting of the Directors of the Bank of the United States, Friday, 6th April, 1792.

"RESOLVED,

"That the President be empowered to appoint a person or persons to receive all Interest due or to grow due, on any public Debt standing in the Name of the President, Directors, and Company of the Bank of the United States on the Books of the Com[r]. of Loans in any of the States.

[47] From *Bank of the United States* (*Etting Papers*) in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

"In Testimony whereof, I have hereunto caused the Seal of said Corporation to be affixed, the 14th Day of July, 1792.

THO^{S} WILLING,
Prest.

"Attest
JOHN KEAN
Cash^{r}."

Superscription—"The President Directors & C^{o} of the Bank of the United States
to
John Hopkins
General Power to receive Interest on Public Debt Stock
lodged July 21st 1792."

"AGREEMENT BETWEEN ALEXANDER HAMILTON, SECRETARY OF TREASURY OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE PRESIDENT, DIRECTORS AND CO. OF THE BANK OF THE UNITED STATES.[48]

"June 25, 1792.

"AGREEMENT between Alexander Hamilton Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, by

[48] From *Bank of the United States* (*Etting Papers*) in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

virtue of authority from the President of the United States, on behalf of the United States, of the one part, and the President, Directors and Company of the Bank of the United States of the other part.

"WHEREAS in and by the Act intitiled An Act to incorporate the Subscribers to the Bank of the United States, it is among other things enacted in the words following "That it shall be lawful for the President of the United States, at any time or times, within eighteen months after the first day of April next to cause a subscription to be made to the Stock of the said Corporation, as part of the aforesaid Capital Stock of Ten millions of Dollars, on behalf of the United States, to an amount not exceeding Two millions of Dollars; to be paid out of the monies which shall be borrowed by virtue of either of the Acts the one entitled, An Act making provision for the debt of the United States; and the other entitled an Act making provision for the reduction of the public debt, borrowing of the Bank an equal sum, to be applied to the purposes, for which the said Monies shall have been procured; reimbursable in Ten years, by equal annual installments; or at any time sooner, or in any

greater proportions, that the Government may think fit."

"AND WHEREAS for carrying into execution the said provision the President by writing under his hand bearing date the 9th day of May last past, did authorize the said Secretary to subscribe by one or more subscriptions on behalf and in the Name of the United States for such number of Shares of and in the Capital Stock of the said Corporation as together should amount to Two millions of dollars and the same to pay for out of any monies which have been or shall be borrowed by virtue of either of the Acts the one entitled "An Act making provision for the debt of the United States" and the other entitled "An Act making provision for the reduction of the public debt" and did further authorize the said secretary to borrow of the said Corporation for and on account of the United States an equal sum, namely Two millions of Dollars to be applied to the same purposes for which the said Monies shall have been procured and to be reimbursable in Ten years by equal annual installments or at any time sooner or in any greater proportions that the Government may think fit. Provided that the Interest

thereof should not exceed the rate of six per Centum per annum, and did also empower the said Secretary to enter into and conclude with the said Corporation such contracts and agreements as should be necessary for fulfilling the purposes aforesaid promising to ratify whatever he should lawfully do in the premises.

"NOW THEREFORE THESE PRESENTS WITNESS That it hath been agreed and it is hereby agreed by and between the parties aforesaid as follows, to wit—

"FIRST—The said Secretary of the Treasury forthwith after the execution of these Presents shall pursuant to the authority to him given as aforesaid subscribe in some proper book at the said Bank in the name and on behalf of the United States for Five thousand Shares of and in the Capital Stock of the said Corporation.

"SECONDLY—The subscription so to be made shall be deemed to have been made on the twentieth day of December last past and the said United States shall be deemed to have become on the said day and shall be proprietors of the said Five thousand shares of and in the said Capital Stock, subject to the conditions and agreements hereinafter specified.

"THIRDLY—The amount of the said Five thousand shares, namely Two Millions of Dollars shall be payable in moieties, one moiety upon the day of the execution of these Presents, the other moiety on the first day of July next.

"FOURTHLY—The said Corporation upon the payment of each of the said Moieties shall forthwith lend, advance and pay *a sum equal to* such moiety to the United States to bear an Interest at the rate of six per Centum per Annum, subject to the terms of reimbursement in the Act aforesaid specified.—

"FIFTHLY—As the dividend upon the said first moiety will begin to accrue on the said 20th day of December last past, the Interest upon the loan which shall be first made pursuant to the article next preceding, that is to say upon the principal sum of one Million of Dollars shall begin to accrue upon the said 20th day of December last and the Interest upon the said Second loan of one Million of Dollars shall begin to accrue upon the said first day of July next.—

"SIXTHLY—The Interest upon the said loans shall be payable and paid half yearly, that is to say the first half yearly payment shall be made on the first day of July next and thereafter a

half yearly payment shall be made on the first day's of January and July in each year until the final reimbursement of the said Loans.

"In testimony whereof The said Secretary hath hereunto subscribed his hand and caused to be affixed the seal of the Treasury of the United States, and the said President, Directors and Company have hereunto caused to be affixed the Seal of the said Corporation. Done at Philadelphia the Twenty-fifth day of June x x in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-two.

Alexander Hamilton,
Sec'y of the Treasy.
Thos Willing *Pres't.*

"Attest
John Kean
Cash'r."

Document relating to the First Bank of the United States.[49]

"We Thomas Willing President & John Kean Cashier of the Bank of the United States acknowl-

[49] From *Bank of the United States* (*Etting Papers*) in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

edge to have received from Citizen La Forest Consul General of the French Republic and acting in that capacity, an Order drawn by the Minister of the French Republic upon the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States dated 10th July 1794 for Thirty one thousand Five hundred Eighty One Dollars & three Cents which order is lodged in consequence of the Bank of the United States having become Guarantees for the performance of three Charter Parties entered into in New York by the French Republic for the Freight of the Bristol Maria & Atlas— Now we promise that upon the Bank of the United States being fully discharged & acquitted from any responsibility by consequence of said Guarantee that we will account with the said Citizen La Forest or any person duly authorized for the said order or its proceeds.

"In witness whereof we have hereunto sett our hands this 14th July 1794.

"THO^{S} WILLING *Pres^{t}*.
JOHN KEAN
Cash^{r}."

ON THE BACK OF THE ABOVE DOCUMENT THERE IS THE FOLLOWING ENDORSEMENT:

"I promise to lay in the Bank of the United States the Sum of Thirty one thousand five hundred and Seventy one Dollars and three Cents being the amount of the security given by the President & directors of the Said Bank for the performance of the Charter Parties agreed with the owners of the Bristol, Maria, & Atlas, by the Legation of the French Republic untill it is known that they had their effects.

"Done in Philadelphia this 6th day of Messidor, 2[d] year of the French Republic, being the 24th of June 1794 (O. S.)

"TH. FAUCHET"

DOCUMENT RELATING TO THE FIRST BANK OF THE UNITED STATES.[50]

"AGREEMENT BETWEEN ALEX. HAMILTON AND THE PRES. & DIRECTORS & CO. OF THE BANK OF THE UNITED STATES

"AGREEMENT between Alexander Hamilton Secretary of the Treasury on behalf of the

[50] From *Bank of the United States* (*Etting Papers*) in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

United States of the one part; and the President Directors & Company of the Bank of the United States of the other part; made January the Twenty eighth 1795.

"The said President Directors & Company shall forthwith transfer or cause to be transferred into the name of Mess[rs] Wilhem & Ian Willink & Nicholas & I Van Staphorst & Hubbard Agents for the United States at Amsterdam the Sum of Five hundred Thousand Dollars Stock of the United States bearing a present interest of Six per centum per Annum.

"The Secretary of the Treasury shall cause to be paid for the said Stock a Sum in lawful current money of Five hundred thousand Dollars, one fifth thereof on the first day of August; another fifth part thereof on the first day of September, another fifth part thereof on the first day of October, and the remaining two fifth parts thereof on the first day of November next; together with Interest upon so much as shall at any time remain unpaid to commence on the first day of this present month and to be paid half yearly.

"In Witness whereof the said Secretary of the Treasury hath caused the Seal of the Treasury

to be affixed to these PRESENTS and hath hereunto subscribed his hand, and the said President Directors and Company have also caused the Seal of the BANK of the UNITED STATES to be affixed to the same the day & year aforesaid.

"THO^{S} WILLING PRES^{T} OF THE BANK OF THE U. S."

A DEED OF GIFT OF THOMAS WILLING

"Know all Men by these Presents that I Thomas Willing of Philadelphia in Consideration of the affection I bear to my Sister in Law Margaret M^{c}Call and of the Sum of One Dollar by her to me in hand paid the receipt whereof I do hereby acknowledge have granted bargained and sold aliened assigned transfer'd and set over to her the said Margaret M^{c}Call her Executors Administrators and Assigns all the Right Title and Interest Property Claim and Demand which I have in right of my deceased Wife or otherwise of in to or out of the Estate of Samuel M^{c}Call deceased who was the Father of the said Margaret, as well what was originally vested in my said Wife by the Will of the said Samuel M^{c}Call as what she became en-

titled to by the deaths of her Brothers and Sisters testate or intestate and I do hereby empower the said Margaret M^c^Call for me and in my Name but to her own Use to receive all Sum and Sums of Money due or coming to me as aforesaid from the Estate of the said Samuel M^c^Call and Acquittance for the same in due form of Law to make and execute.

"Witness my Hand and Seal this Seventeenth Day of March A. D. 1798.

"Sealed and Delivered in the Presence of
JOHN WILSON
R. O. B. OLIPHANT"

THOS. WILLING

THOMAS WILLING TO HENRY KUHL.[51]

"SIR

"M^r^ Anthony promised to deliver to you yesterday a notice w^h^ Mr. Francis had rec'd for a note of Mr. Bingham's 4900 D^rs^ due the 17/20 Ins^t^ and to desire you to hold it over till we meet to-morrow. I presume Mr. B has sent me a note to renew the above, but it has not yet come to hand.

[51] From the Simon Gratz collection.

"I now send you two Notes w^h^ youl pass one to the credit of T W F and the other to the c^r^ of Jas. Proudfit and of course charge each w^h^ the corresponding notes due from them this day. You have no doubt charg'd me w^h^ my note due y^s^day of 500 D^rs^.

"Mr. Anthony has no doubt told you of our resolution to open our business at our office in Germantown next Monday, let us see you to-morrow as early as you can, say half past nine o'clock. I hope our Officers are well, for them as well as for you, I have the most anxious concern.

Yrs with great Esteem

THO^S^ WILLING.

"Greenhill
Sept. 20th, 1798

*Addressed to Henry Kuhl, Esq^r^*

BANK U. S.

by Doctor Proudfit."

THOMAS WILLING TO MR. BURRALL.[52]

"SIR

"I have just rec'd y^rs^ respect^g^ the offer of M^r^ Clason, & hav^g^ shown the papers to a few of our Directors, we have concluded that it is best to close directly with the proposal of M^r^ Clason.

[52] From the Library of Congress.

"We rely on the opinion you give respecting Mr. Clason's solidity—the time of payment being postponed is of no consequence, as he is to pay the Interest—As soon as you have fully arranged the business, & tell us you have the Notes in payment—the Attachments shall be withdrawn here.

I am Sir &c.,

THO^{S} WILLING, *Pres^{t}.*

"Bank U. S.
Feb^{y} 3^{d} 1800
M^{R}. BURRALL
Cashier."

THOMAS WILLING TO ALBERT GALLATIN.[53]

"BANK UNITED STATES

AUGUST 19TH 1801

"SIR

"Your favor of the 11th instant, was presented to our Directors yesterday, and was received with much pleasure & satisfaction.

"We thank you for the list of names which it enclosed, and particularly for the caution and candour manifested, in the account given of their qualifications.

"We have now the honor to send you the resolution's passed by a full board at our meeting

[53] From Library of Congress.

on the 18 instant, in relation to the establishment of an office of Discount & Deposit, at the City of Washington, and which, we flatter ourselves, will answer the objects of Government, without being in any way injurious, or inconvenient to the parent Institution.

"You will observe we have fixed the 15th of next month as the day of election for 9 Directors, if such a number of suitable characters, and qualified by being Stockholders, can be found. We shall in the meantime, as becomes us, use our best endeavours to find out such men as, we think, may best be confided in; and if we find they are not Stockholders at that day, which the law requires them to be, we can let their names be known, so that they may each procure, before a short day, to which the Election may be postponed, the requisite qualification.

I am Sir,
for the President, Directors &c., of
the Bank United States
with high respect
your obedt
Thos Willing *Prest.*—

"Albert Gallatin, Esqr
Secretary of the Treasury
of the United States
at
"Washington."

JOSEPH CLAY
JOS. HABERSHAM } TO THOMAS WILLING.[54]

"SIR/

On the 11th Instant we addressed you by Post upon the subject of the purchase of a suitable House for the establishment of a Bank in this City and transmitted by that conveyance a plan of the buildings offered to us for that purpose.

"Since that we have received a Letter from Mr. Stephen Elliott, a Copy of which you have enc osed, offering another brick building for nine thousand dollars, which in our opinion is more eligibly situated for the Bank than the other as far as security against fire is an object, as you will perceive by the plan of the buildings, that will be forwarded to you by Post on the 19th Instant. After being in possession of all the information we can give you on the Subject, it must be left with you to determine which of the two buildings combine the most advantages for the intended Bank if you should determine to purchase one of them for that purpose.

[54] Volume of *Swift and Willing Letters* (*Balch Papers*) in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

"M^r. Young is out of Town and M^r. Gibbons from what has passed between M^r. Wallace and himself relative to the purchase of his house does not think himself at liberty to write to you on this occasion.

"We are with great Respect
Sir
Y^r mo obed servants
JOSEPH CLAY
JOS. HABERSHAM

"Savannah
"18^th March 1802
Thomas Willing esq^r
President of the
Bank of the
United States."

Superscription—"*Thomas Willing esquire*

"By the Ceres Cap^t. Burnham { President of the Bank of the United States Philadelphia"

Document Relating to the First Bank of the United States.[55]

"Bank United States

"To Thomas Willing, President, Dr

"1802

March 31, To one quarter's Salary due this day at $3000 per Annum..... } Doll^{s} 750

Received Payment

Tho^{s} Willing *Pres^{t}*."

Barbé Marbois to Messrs. Willing and Francis.[56]

"Ministère Du Trésor Public—Bureau Du Ministre—Triplicata

13, Septembre, 1803

Paris, le 26 Fructidor, an 11 de la République Française, une et indivisible.

Le Ministre Du Trésor Public

"A Messieurs Willing & Francis, Banquiers Philadelphie.

"Messieurs Hope te Compagnie d'Amsterdam, vous ont sans doute donné connoissance, Messieurs, des propositions qui m'ont été faites par

[55] Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[56] From the Emmett Manuscripts in the New York Public Library.

Mr. Alexandre Baring leur fondé de pouvoirs, et que j'ai acceptées, celui ci qui a fait voile de Deal le 14 Aout dernier, vous aura informé de tout ce qui est relatif à cette affaire. Les dits Sieurs Hope et compagnie ont pris l'engagement de réaliser à Philadelphie et de remettre sur les traites du Caissier general du Trésor de la République Française, à soixante jours de vue fixe, une somme de 2,000,000 francs, ou Trois cent soixante cinq mille six cent vingt cinq dollars, et j'ai, en Exécution de l'engagement de ces Messieurs, autorisé le Caissier général à tirer sur vous cinq traites de 73,125 ($) chacune, sous la date du 12 Fructidor an XI (30 Aout 1803) à l'ordre du Cm. Pichon, commissaire des Relations Commerciales de la République Française aux Etats Unis. Ces traites sont parties pour leur destination.

"Je vous prie de me donner avis de leur présentation à l'acceptation et de la date de leur acquittement. Les fonds de ces effets sont destinés au service des colonies Françaises, et à rembourser les traites que le Payeur de St. Domingue a été autorisé à tirer sur le Cm. Pichon à Philadelphie, ou sur la maison de Banque qui seroit désignée par ce Commissaire.

"Comme il seroit possible que la Residence du Cm. Pichon ne fut pas Philadelphie, ou que des voyages fréquents, ou toute autre cause ne lui permissent pas de se charger lui même du service de l'acquittement des traites du payeur de St. Domingue, je l'ai autorisé a en charger une maison de Banque de Votre ville et je lui ai désigné la votre comme une de celles qui méritent à plus juste titre la confiance du Gouvernement Français, persuadé que vous vous empresseriez de concourir à assurer son service sous les conditions d'usage dans le Commerce et que vous ne laisseriez rien à désirér du coté du zèle et du dévouement avec lequel vous dirigeriez les opérations qui vous seroient confiées.

"Je vous serai obligé de m'informer par une correspondance suivie de tout ce qui pourra être relatif à cette operation.

"J'ai l'honneur de vous saluer.

"Barbé Marbois."

Thomas Willing to Albert Gallatin.[57]

"Bank U. S. February 12, 1805

"Sir:

"Your communication on the subject of the British Instalment—having been fully considered

[57] From the Library of Congress.

by a committee of our Board, has this day been reported on and the resolution proposed by the committee agreed to by the Board of Directors.

"This resolution I have now the honor to transmit, and hope it may meet your approbation. The 15th of September mentioned as the latest period for payment in England, will still be earlier than it is probable the British Government could realize their payment in London in any other way. We therefore hope there will be no objection on this point and it is a stipulation the more necessary because the time we now have to make our purchases is but short for securing so large a sum.

"Knowing the state of our specie you will no doubt see the propriety of furnishing us with the Treasury drafts to enable us to begin and accomplish the undertaking. If you determine on it, and can so arrange the payment of the instalment so that it can be made in this way by Bills, it will be a relief to trade and prevent that great distress which the exportation of so large a sum in specie would occasion. I shall be ready to execute on the part of the Bank any instruments or engagement which you may think necessary on the occasion.

"The execution of your orders for the purchase of bills at New-York has brought our office largely in debt to the other Bank there. If we go into contemplated purchase we must expect a part of it to be made at Boston, New York, Baltimore &c., wherefore it is to be hoped that a continuance of other purchases by you may not be for some time found necessary.

"I am, Sir,
with the greatest respect,
your obed.
THO^{s}. WILLING *Presidt.*"

(Endorsed)
"Philad^{a} Feb^{y} 12, 1805
Thomas Willing, Esq^{r}.
to
The Secretary of the Treasury."

THOMAS WILLING TO JOHN SWAN ESQ., AT BALTIMORE.[58]

"BANK U. S. JUNE 9TH 1807

"SIR

"The enclosed letter from M^{r} Ja^{s} Jaffray with the printed Advertisement, hav^{g} been before our

[58] From *Letters of Members of the Old Congress* (*Dreer Manuscripts*) in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Board—We now send it to you for information—It is on a subject, we do not recollect to have before heard of—

"The letter of Oct^{r} 1796 of w^{h} he sends a Coppy is not on our files—

"You'l please to tell us the amo^{t} of the sum he claims of the bank, owing, as he says to the conduct of y^{r} Cashier—

"You will, also, let us know y^{r} Opinion, & View of the business, altogether—

I am Sir
for the Pres^{t} Director & Co.
of the Bank U. S.
Y^{r} Obed^{t}
THO^{s} WILLING *Pres^{t}*.

"JNO. SWAN ESQ.
Pres^{t} of the
Office of Dis^{t} & Deposit
^{at} Baltimore."

A RESOLUTION OF THE PRESIDENT AND THE DIRECTORS OF THE FIRST BANK OF THE UNITED STATES.[59]

"At a meeting of the President & Directors of the Bank of the United States, on the twelfth

[59] From the Library of Congress.

day of February 1805, the following report was approved—viz—

"The Committee to whom was referred a confidential letter addressed to Thomas Willing, Esquire, President of the Bank of the United States, dated Treasury Department Feby 4th 1805 and signed Albert Gallatin, respectfully submit the following report:

"That the Committee having carefully perused the letter above referred to, are happy to find that the difficulties therein stated to have existed and which operated to embarrass the chartered Banks at New York, have, in consequence of measures pursued by this Board, together with the judicious & prompt aid afforded by the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, nearly subsided, and they have reason to believe will soon be restored to perfect safety. That the answer given by the President of this Bank, on the 7th instant to the letter aforesaid, is, in the opinion of the Committee correct and proper, and, except the part thereof which respects the payment of two hundred thousand pounds sterling in Europe, comprehends all that was necessary to be offered on the different points submitted by the Secretary, of course, the only question

which remains to be answered by the Directors is, whether they will undertake to remit to Europe, on account and risk of this Bank, two hundred thousand pounds sterling, to meet the demands of the British Government, which will be due on the 15th of July next, from the Government of the United States? On this very interesting and important question therefore, your Committee have bestowed particular attention, and, after duly considering the present scarcity of specie, and the continued drain thereof in aid of commercial pursuits, they cannot doubt of it's being the indispensible duty of the Directors of this Bank to prevent, *at this time*, the exportation of the precious metals, on which the safety of our monied institutions principally depends, and under this impression they do not hesitate to report in favor of the proposition, and that no time may be lost in carrying it into effect, they recommend the following resolution:

"RESOLVED, that this Board accept of the proposal made by the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, as contained in his letter dated Feby 4th 1805, and addressed to the President of this Bank, and that they will commence the purchase of bills of exchange and

remit the sum of two hundred thousand pounds sterling to their Agent in London, at the risk and expense of this Bank, with directions to pay the same to the order of the said Secretary on, or if convenient before the fifteenth of September next. And in order to accomplish this object, so as to have a full and perfect knowledge thereof, the President of this Bank is hereby requested to enter into a special agreement with the Secretary of the Treasury.

THO^{S}. WILLING, *Pres^{t}*.

"ATTEST

G. SIMPSON, *Cash^{r}*."

THOMAS WILLING TO ALBERT GALLATIN.

"BANK OF THE UNITED STATES
March 11th, 1805

"SIR;

"Late on Friday evening I received yours of the 5. instant, by which I find it is agreed on your part that the Resolution of our Board sent you on the 12th ultimo shall be carried into execution as promptly as possible.

"On Saturday I called a Board of Directors, who agree that the instalment, say £200,000 Sterling, at par, shall be paid to your order in

London by Sir Francis Baring & Co., merchants there, who are for this purpose our sole agents, at the expence and risque of the Bank.

"We shall direct those Gentlemen to make the payment on the 15. of July, if in their power so to do, or at as short a day afterward as they can; not delaying the payment of the whole beyond the 15. of September, the ultimate point of time specified in the abovementioned Resolution.

"Our Cashier has this day received the Treasurer's draft for 200,000 dollars, on which, as it was payable to the President, Directors & Co., I have by my signature as President, endorsed a receipt. We have already expended and remitted to London the amount of this Treasury Draft, and if convenient to you shall be glad to have a draft on Boston, and another on New-York for whatever sums you can assist us with.

"If this letter from me, and which is written with the concurrence and approbation of a Board of Directors, shall be deemed satisfactory by you, there will be no occasion for your taking the trouble to draft and execute any more formal instruments. Your abovementioned letter of 5. instant with the original proposal contained in

that of the 4. February, are perfectly sufficient for us.—

"I have the honor to be, Sir,
with the highest respect,
Your obed.
THO^{s}. WILLING *Presit.*"

THOMAS WILLING TO ALBERT GALLATIN.

"BANK U. S. APRIL 22^{D} 1808.

"SIR

"Having within a few days past, discovered that considerable purchases have been made of the American dollars, and that more are intended soon to be made for the purpose of shipping them to India, the Directors being much alarmed at such a practice being adopted, have directed me to forward you a report of their Committee, on this very interesting & important business.

"In compliance with the request of the Board I have now the honor to hand you the report approved by our direction—

and am Sir
with great respect
Y^{r}. ob^{t}. hum. Serv^{t}
(Signed) THO^{s}. WILLING *Pres^{t}.*

"*Honorable*
Albert Gallatin,
Sect. of the
Treasury."

Thomas Willing to George Simpson.[60]

"Dear Sir

"The time is at last come, when although with regret, I must close my account with our late Bk. U. States—for this purpose, I now send you my bank book, and request that you will have it settled as soon as convenient; and that you will pass the ballance due to me therein, to my Credit on the books of Stephen Girard, Banker, by thus fixing my bank Account, I shall have the pleasure of continuing my intercourse with you, & the other Gentlemen associated with you, under the auspices of that enterprising and valuable Citizen M^r. Girard—

"I send my book today, because I hear that M^r. Girard will begin business on Monday—

I am, as ever,
Y^r sincere friend
"Phil^a. May 16th, 1812 & hum. Serv^t.

Geo. Simpson Esq^r. [The signature is cut off]"

"Name cut out and
fixed in Girards firm Book."

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[60] From *Bank of the United States* (*Etting Papers*) in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Some Verses by Thomas Willing.

"MY ANSWER

"On being asked "what exercise I take, and if it agreed with me?"

"When the air is dry, and weather clear,
From home I rove, both far and near—
Before it's noon, a league I walk;
And with my friends I laugh and talk;
When dinner comes I take my part
Of food that's plain, not dressed by art;
This meal gone by, I sit awhile,
An hour or so, then walk a mile.

"The day thus spent I go to bed,
Sweet sleep I have, as cares are fled,
My limbs at rest, my mind at ease,
My life resigned, when God may please,
At that dread hour, to me unknown,
I hope my fears may all have flown;
I'll thank my God for mercies past,
And crave forgivness at the last.

"'Tis blindness to the future kindly given,
That each may fill the circle marked by heaven.'
—*Pope.*

Thos. Willing.

"Nov. 22, 1812,
Mrs. Maria P. Willing."[61]

[61] Mrs. Maria P. Willing was the daughter of Judge Richard Peters, of Belmont.

Thomas M. Willing to Henry Ralston, Philadelphia.[62]

"Rue de la Paix 22ND July 1830.

"Dear Harry:

"I am much obliged to you for your letter of the 14 June—According to your direction I have ordered coat, boots, shoes & Hat & also a Paradise feather & Hat for Harriette, which said articles are almost ready to leave Paris, and shall arrive at the commencement of the Autumn.

"The Hat was chosen by Madam du Bleutil & the Countess de Corrinini who accompanied me to purchase it, & both ladies said it was the prettiest thing they had seen for a long time.

"You will observe the feather has the appearance of being rubbed or eaten a *very little* at the ends, but they are all so, in consequence of the wings of the bird trailing upon the ground. It was the least so of 30 or 40 & the most beautiful I could find in a shop which is the best in Paris.

"The above named ladies chose it also & as the

[62] Volume of *Blackwell and Willing Letters* (*Wallace Papers*) in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Countess is a woman of high rank & fashion, & also good taste. I hope Harriet will be pleased—I have sent everything to Barde & afterwards shall settle with Willis—I have been to the Duc d 'Orleans! & he received me very kindly. The Prince of Moskowa is the best fellow in the world, He lends me his horses & his opera box, & his Mother la Marechale has parties every Monday Even'g. La Duchess d'Ortrante has parties every friday night where we dance & waltz & afterwards drink hot punch. It is all a damd mistake about the French not handing around refreshments at their evening parties—It is true they don't drench you with wine and that *beastly Brandy & water*, but you have the most delicious ices in the world & drinks expressed from all the fruits in season. The French understand it—I was not introduced at the court of St. James in consequence of the illness of the King, & I now begin to think it is not worth the expense.

"I have spent some very pleasant days in France particularly at the Castle of "Maisons" with Moskowa & his party—Our amusements were pigeon shooting & billiards & afterwards riding thro' the forest of St. Germain—He has some

very fine hunters—12 or 14—I must finish now—
My love to all—

"I am truly my dear
Harry yours!
T. M. WILLING."

Superscription—
"Mon^{s} H. Ralston,
64 Pine St. near 3rd
Philadelphia.
United States."

THE WILL OF THOMAS WILLING, 1820.

"I THOMAS WILLING of the City of Philadelphia in the State of Pennsylvania being of sound mind memory and understanding but knowing the great uncertainty of this life do make this my last Will and Testament—

"FIRST I resign my Soul to the Almighty Ruler of the Universe from whom I received it and by whose favour and Protection I possess that portion of property which it is my intention by this instrument to dispose of.

"WHEREFORE as I have a right and Estate in and to about one hundred and twenty two thousand Acres of Land part of a larger quantity purchased by William Bingham and myself from the State of

Pennsylvania and surveyed by John Adlum in that part of the said State then called the Eighteen Districts Westward of the River Susquehannah and as Patents for the same were granted in the name of William Bingham only between whom and myself no Partition of the said Lands has ever been made, it will be proper in case of my death that a division of the said Estate be speedily made so as to fix and separate my part and share from the part and share belonging to William Bingham's representatives in such division the like proportion may be allotted to each as was agreed and fixed for our parts and shares of the part of the said Estate sold to Talon a division or adjustment being settled of my part or Interest in the above Estate I do hereby give and bequeath all my said Lands and Estate as above described and mentioned to my four Executors hereinafter named and to the Survivors and Survivor of them and the heirs of such survivor in trust however for this Special use and purpose that the Said lands and estate shall or may by them be sold at such price in such manner and at such time within ten years after my decease as they my Executors or a majority of them may think proper and they or a majority of them are hereby authorized to make such Sale or Sales and to grant or give to the

purchaser or purchasers thereof good and Sufficient Deeds to Convey the said Estate or any part thereof in fee simple as I myself might or could do were I then living and present And it is my Will that as and when the money has been received by the said Trustees for which the said Lands or any part thereof has been sold the same shall be divided and paid in the following manner and proportion to Say One Ninth part thereof in equal Shares to my four Grand Children Thomas, Richard, Eliza and George Children of my son Charles Willing deceased their respective heirs or assigns And the remaining eight ninth parts of all money so as above received by the said Trustees from any Sales of my said Western Lands shall be equally divided and paid to my four Sons Thomas M. Willing, George Willing, Richard Willing, and William S. Willing, and to my four daughters, Elizabeth, Mary, Dorothy and Abigail their respective heirs or assigns Share and Share alike And in case either of my four sons or four daughters shall die before me it is my Will that the one ninth part of the money received from the Sales of the said Lands or the Share of the said Lands as hereby given to him or her so dying before me shall be equally paid or the Land granted as the case may to his or to her Children when severally

Twenty One Years of age—FURTHER it is my mind and will that the whole or such part of the said Lands as may remain unsold at the expiration of Ten years after my decease shall be divided into nine parts or Lotts in quantity and quality as nearly as may be conveniently done by a judicious Surveyor that each Lot of such division be marked in the general Map of the whole with one of the Letters A to I That nine tickets each having one of the said Letters wrote thereon shall be put into a Box and thence drawn out singly by a person named by my Executors That the first ticket so drawn shall fix and designate the share given to the four Children of my Son Charles deceased namely Thomas, Richard, Eliza, and George their respective heirs and assigns as tenants in Common—and the next and remaining tickets to be drawn out singly for my four Sons and four daughters according to their seniority shall fix and designate to each of them the ninth part or share of the said Lands hereinbefore given to them severally their respective heirs and assigns such division and distribution of the above lands having been thus made my Executors or Trustees or a majority of them shall or may give grant and assign after the expiration of ten years from my decease separate Deeds to my

said several devisees or their representatives as the case may require in fee simple for the part or share so belonging to each of them. Any Deeds of Release which may be necessary to pass between William Bingham's heirs trustees or executors and mine to assure to each their title severally to the part or share belonging to each of the above Western Lands and Estate or to any other Lands held in Joint Concern by the said William Bingham and myself my Executors or a majority of them are hereby authorised and directed to receive from them on behalf of my Estate or my devisees and also to execute and deliver to them on my part such release in ample form as I myself might or could do were I then living and personally present.

"I give and bequeath to my Son Thomas Mayne Willing his heirs and assigns my dwelling house and lot of ground or homestead Estate on Third Street and Willings Alley in the Said City and the Lot of ground on the south side thereof about Thirty two feet front on Third Street and in depth westerly the same width to the East Side or line of my Brick Stable or Court Yard, adjoining thereto and which stable its Lot and Stable I do also give and devise to my said Son Thomas Mayne Willing his heirs and assigns—I do also give and devise to my Said

Son Thomas Mayne Willing his heirs and assigns All those my lots of ground, Houses, Stores, Wharves and Estate on the East side of Penn Street in said City of Philadelphia bounded on the North by John Nixon's Estate west by Penn street south by a Ten feet Alley widened by me to twelve feet next to Thomas Cuthberts Estate and East by the River Delaware at the Eastern extent of my Patents, all of which Estate on Penn Street and all my said Homestead Estate except the lot on the South side of my said dwelling house on Third Street shall be liable for and subject to the payment of the six following Annuities given to the following Annuitants respectively to be made and fully paid by my said Son Thomas Mayne Willing his heirs and assigns to say, I do give and bequeath to my son William S. Willing during his life an annuity or yearly sum of Two hundred and thirty Dollars I give and bequeath to my daughter Mary Clymer during her life for her separate use and on her own receipt notwithstanding her coverture an annuity or yearly sum of Two hundred and thirty Dollars I give and bequeath to my daughter Dorothy Francis during her life an annuity or yearly sum of Two hundred and thirty Dollars I do give and bequeath to my Daughter Abigail Peters during her life for

her separate use and on her own receipts notwithstanding her coverture an annuity or yearly sum of Two hundred and thirty dollars I give and bequeath to my Housekeeper Catherine Cushing during her life an annuity or yearly sum of Two hundred and thirty Dollars and I do give and bequeath to my daughter Elizabeth Jackson Wife of William Jackson during her life an Annuity or Yearly Sum of Two hundred and thirty Dollars—And I do hereby direct the payment of the said last mentioned annuity to be made to my sons George Willing and William S. Willing and to the survivor of them and the heirs of such survivor To have take and receive the same Sum In Trust for the use of my said daughter Elizabeth Jackson during her natural life, the same to be received and enjoyed by her separate and apart from her husband and to be free and discharged from all claims of any kind and nature whatsoever and I do hereby direct and declare that the separate receipts of my said daughter under her hand shall alone acquit and discharge the said Trustees for the due and faithful discharge of the trust herein created and that yearly and every year as the Said last mentioned annuity shall be paid to same Trustees during the natural life of my said daughter Elizabeth they shall pay the same over

to her and to no other person it being my Will and intention that same annuity shall not be liable or charged with any debts which may be due by her said husband or by any other person or liable or subject to any claims whatsoever thus having given the above several annuities amounting in the whole to Thirteen hundred and eighty Dollars payable by my son Thomas his heirs and assigns out of the two Estates above given to him and them I do declare it to be my Will that each and every the Said six annuities shall be paid by two even and equal half yearly payments and shall be held and considered to be a lien and charge on the said two Estates and on each of them except the lot on the South Side of my dwelling house which I do exempt therefrom. I do Also give and devise to my said son Thomas Mayne Willing his heirs and assigns my Coach House and its Lot of ground on the North side of Willings Alley near to my dwelling house about eighteen feet front on said Alley and forty feet deep North from the said Alley it being the western part of a larger lot bought of my Uncle Joseph Shippen And I do also give to my said son Thomas Mayne Willing his heirs and assigns my lot of ground on the Wind Mill Island opposite my Estate on Penn Street which I bought of William

Brown and also hold by a lease from the late Proprietaries of Pennsylvania.—

"I give to my son Thomas my Silver Tureene with all its appurtenances made in London and given to me by the Stockholders in the United States Bank as a testimony of their approbation of my conduct as President of that institution I do also give him my three old family bibles and the old Clock which was brought to this Country in the year One thousand Six hundred and eighty eight by my Ancestor Edward Shippen and further I give to my said Son Thomas the sum of One hundred pounds from which I devise him to pay six Pounds every year to Elizabeth Shippen during her life This is in lieu of the like sum formerly subscribed by me for her support.

"I give to my Executors herein after named the sum of sixteen hundred Pounds in Trust nevertheless to place the same at Interest on Mortgage or invest the same in six per Cent Stock of the United States and to receive the Interest thereof and pay over the same half yearly to my said daughter Elizabeth Jackson for her separate use during her life and for which her own receipts only notwithstanding her coverture shall be sufficient in the Law and so that the same and every part thereof shall not be in the power or subject to the debts controul

or engagements of her husband or of any other person or liable or subject to any claims whatsoever in the same way and manner as is herein before mentioned expressed and declared of and concerning the aforesaid Annuity of Two hundred and thirty dollars and that after her decease whether the same shall happen before or after my death then my said Executors shall pay the said sixteen hundred pounds or assign the stocks and mortgages in which the same may be invested in equal shares to my four Grand daughters Ann, Elizabeth, Mary and Caroline Jackson (Children of my said daughter Elizabeth) the share of such of them as may be Minors to be kept out at Interest or invested in Stock for the use of such minor or minors till she or they shall attain the full age of Twenty one Years or marry which shall first happen and if either or any of my said four Grand daughters shall die in minority and unmarried then and in such case the part and share of her or them so dying shall go and I do give the same to the survivors or survivor of my said four Grand Children the principal thereof to be paid and assigned to them when and as they severally attain their full age or marry which shall first happen But if all and every the said four Children shall die in their minority and unmarried then

and in such case the said sixteen hundred pounds shall become a part of my residuary Estate.

"I give and devise to my Sons Thomas Mayne Willing, Richard Willing and William S. Willing and to the survivors and survivor of them and the heirs and assigns of such survivor All that my tract of land and estate in Centre County in Pennsylvania containing about six hundred and fifteen acres of Land which I bought of Nicholas Honsinger on Bald Eagle Creek in the County aforesaid In Trust however for the use and purpose following and for none other to wit that they the Said trustees or the survivors or survivor of them or the heirs of such survivor (or a majority of them for the time being shall and may sell and dispose of the Said Estate and tract of Land either in whole or in parts at such time and place and for such price as they may think proper and the money which they shall receive for any sale by them to be made all reasonable charges being first deducted from the amount of such sale and also after having deducted therefrom and fully paid off every note or notes now drawn and to be drawn and payable by William Jackson the husband of my daughter Elizabeth to me and all other monies by me advanced to and for him and charged to his account in my small Ledger folio

seventy six with Interest thereon from the dates of same notes and entries in my Said Ledger respectively up to the time of payment not however both principal and interest then to exceed Eighteen hundred dollars and every note or notes and sums of money then due from the said William Jackson to my sons Thomas M. Willing and George Willing and for any money which they or either of them here have paid or for which they or either of them may be liable to pay for any Note or endorsement they or either of them may have lent—the said William Jackson with Interest thereon not exceeding Six thousand Dollars including interest to my Son Thomas Mayne Willing and not exceeding Sixteen hundred Dollars including interest to my son George Willing all of which charges and debts above mentioned not exceeding as aforesaid being discharged out of the monies received on the sale of the said Estate it is my Will that the balance shall be put to interest at the discretion of my said Trustees for the separate use of my Daughter Elizabeth Jackson during her life and to whom the said interest shall be paid and for which only her own receipts notwithstanding her coverture shall be sufficient and so that the same and every part thereof shall not be in the power or subject

to the debts controul or engagements of her husband or any other person or liable or subject to any claims whatsoever in the same way and manner as is hereinbefore mentioned expressed and declared of and concerning her aforesaid annuity of Two hundred and thirty dollars And that after her decease all the said Monies so directed to be put at Interest as last aforesaid shall be equally paid to and divided equally between Ann Elizabeth Mary and Caroline Jackson the Children of my said daughter or such of them as may survive their Mother and live to attain the age of twenty one years the shares of either of the Said Children being under age shall be put to interest as aforesaid by the said trustees for the use of the same minor or minors till of full age as above mentioned But if all and every of my said Grand daughters the Children of my said daughter Elizabeth shall die in their minority and without issue then and in such case the said last mentioned principal Monies Shall become a part of my residuary Estate.

"I give and bequeath to my Sons Thomas George and William and to the survivors and survivor of them his Executors and Administrators the sum of One thousand six hundred Pounds In

Trust however for the following Use and purpose that they shall place the same at Interest at their own discretion and as they receive the interest they Shall annually pay the same to my daughter the said Mary Clymer or to such person or persons as she by writing under her own hand shall from time to time authorise to receive the Same as aforesaid notwithstanding her coverture shall be sufficient And that after her decease whether the Same shall happen before or after my death they the said Trustees as above named shall divide and pay the Said One thousand six hundred Pounds in equal shares to such of the Children of my said daughter Mary Clymer as may survive her and who may attain the age of Twenty One Years The shares of either of her children then in their minority Shall be kept at Interest by the Said Trustees for the benefit of such minor until he or she comes to the above age.

"I give and bequeath to my Sons Thomas Richard and William and to the Survivors and Survivor of them his executors and administrators the sum of One thousand six hundred Pounds In trust however for the following uses and purposes that they Shall place the same at Interest at their own discretion and as they re-

ceive the Said Interest they shall annually pay the same to my daughter Dorothy Francis for her own use during her life and that after her decease whether the same shall happen before or after my death they the said Trustees as above named shall divide and pay the said one thousand six hundred Pounds in equal Shares to her four youngest sons namely John Thomas Charles and Alfred or the survivors of them.

"I give and bequeath to my Sons Thomas George and William and to the survivors and survivor of them and the Executors or administrators and assigns of such survivor the sum of Four thousand five hundred Dollars In Trust that they or a majority of them for the time being shall put the same at Interest on Mortgage or invest the Same in public Stocks of the United States at their discretion and shall and do receive the Interest and dividends thereof and pay over the same from time to time when and as received to my daughter Abigail Peters for her own separate use and for which her own receipts under her own hand Notwithstanding her coverture shall be deemed sufficient and so that the same shall not be subject to the debts controul or engagements of her husband and In trust

after her decease to pay over and transfer all the said principal sum of four thousand five hundred dollars and the stocks and mortgages in which the same may be invested and the interest and dividends thereafter to accrue to and among all her Children her surviving their respective Executors Administrators and assigns share and share alike those who may be then minors to receive their portion thereof when and as they severally attain the age of twenty one years or marry which shall first happen.——

"I give to my sons Thomas Mayne Willing and William S. Willing or to the Survivor of them seventy shares of the stock held by me in the Farmers and Mechanics Bank In Trust for the following purpose that the said Trustees or the survivor of them shall within one month after my death assign over and transfer the said seventy shares of stock to my son George Willing his executors administrators and assigns with all dividends due and thence-forward to become due on the said Stock and further it is my Will that in case my said son George shall not survive me or live until the transfer of said stock shall as above directed have been made to him that they the said Trustees or the survivor of them shall

forthwith transfer the said stock to Rebecca Willing the Wife of my said son George her Executors administrators and assigns.

"I give and bequeath to my Son George Willing the Sum of three thousand three hundred pounds subject however to the payment of every Bond or note made payable to me by him the said George Willing whether assigned by me or in my possession.

"I give and bequeath to my Son Richard Willing the sum of three thousand three hundred Pounds subject however to the payment of every Bond or Note made payable to me by him the said Richard Willing whether assigned by me or in my possession.

"I give and devise to my son Richard Willing his Heirs and Assigns my house lot and estate at the Corner of York and Delaware Third Streets in the Said City of Philadelphia subject to a ground rent thereon annually due and to be paid to the Estate of the late Samuel Powell Esquire deceased and also reserving as a further condition of this devise the following annuity or sum of money to be paid out of the Said Estate namely an annuity of Two hundred and forty Dollars to be paid to my son George Willing during his life in equal half yearly payments the

first half yearly payment thereof to be made at the expiration of six Months next after my decease and further that my said son Richard his heirs or assigns shall pay to my Grand daughter Eliza Spring the daughter of my Son Charles the sum of four hundred dollars and also that he my said son his heirs or assigns shall pay to my son William S. Willing in six Months next after my decease should he my said son then be living the sum of One thousand Pounds for his own use and disposal But in case the said William shall be then deceased the said sum of One thousand Pounds shall be equally divided between my three daughters Mary Clymer Dorothy Francis and Abigail Peters their respective Executors Administrators and assigns share and share alike and it is my Will that the said annuity above given to George Willing and the two Legacies directed to be paid to Eliza Spring and to William S. Willing if living or in the event of his death to my three daughters as aforesaid shall be a lien and Charge on the Estate at the Corner of York and Third Streets as above mentioned.

"I give devise and bequeath to my said son Richard Willing his heirs executors administrators and as-

signs all the Estate real and personal to which I have claim right or title as being the heir at law to the late James or Richard Bayne deceased late of Hampton in Arden in the County of Warwick or elsewhere in England.

"I give and devise to my Son William S. Willing his heirs and assigns all my Estate on the West Side of Front Street in the said City of Philadelphia between Walnut and Chestnut Streets including the Old City Vendue Store and its Lot the frame stores the Brick houses and stables to the westward thereof on said lot also the new Brick House with its lot on the south side of the Vendue store adjoining Samuel Coates Estate the said Lot extends west to Zacharys Court having thereby free passage into Walnut street together with every privilege and use of said Court or passage both of which Estates or Lots with all the improvements thereon and appurtenances to each belonging I give and devise to my said son William S. Willing his heirs and assigns and I do also give and devise to my Said Son William S. Willing his heirs and assigns all that my Pasture Lot containing six Acres and an half more or less on Hudsons Lane in Moyamensing Township and County of Philadelphia which I bought of the late Samuel

Hudson and further I do give to my said Son William S. Willing the sum of Three thousand five hundred Pounds Subject however to the payment of every Bond or note due or payable to me by the Said William S. Willing whether assigned by me or still in my possession.—

"I give to my sons Thomas and George Willing and to the survivor of them and to the Executors or Administrators of such Survivor the sum of Two thousand five hundred pounds In Trust however for the following use and purpose that they the Said trustees shall put the Same to interest at their own discretion and as the said Interest is received by them the said trustees they shall pay the same to my said son William S. Willing annually during his life In Trust however that the said Interest so received by him shall be applied by him at his own discretion for the support of his family and the education of his Children now born and hereafter to be born and after the death of my said son William they the said trustees shall pay and divide in equal shares the said Two thousand five hundred pounds to and between all the Children of my said Son William who shall Survive their Father and attain the Age of Twenty one years The share of either of the said Children

who may not be of the age aforesaid shall be retained by the said Trustees until such minor has arrived at full age But if either or any of the Children of my said son William shall depart this life leaving issue living at the decease of my said son such issue shall have and take such part and share of the Legacy last aforesaid as his her or their deceased Parent or Parents would have been entitled to had such parent or parents then been living.

"I give and bequeath to my grandson Thomas Willing Junior the eldest son of my son Charles Willing deceased all the stock held by me and now standing in my name on the Books of the Bank of the United States being twenty shares together with all dividends due at the time of my death or thereafter to become due and I do also give and bequeath to him the Said Thomas Willing Junior sixty five shares of stock now held by me and standing in my name on the Books of the Farmers and Mechanics Bank together with all the dividends due at the time of my death and thereafter to become due the Said sixty five Shares of the last mentioned stock being all that will remain more than the seventy shares of the Farmers and Mechanics Bank herein given to my Son

George and all those my Forty shares of Masonic Loan Stock now standing in my name by transfer on the Books of the said Masonic Lodge Society or Corporation the same being part of the first Loan made by the said Society all of which stock and Loan so given to my said Grandson according to the rules or Ordinances of the said Banks or Lodge respectively I do also give to my said grandson Thomas Willing Junior the Sum of Twelve hundred Pounds in Cash I do also give and bequeath to the said Thomas Willing Junior Two thousand dollars part of the six per cent debt of the United States now held by me which my son Thomas M. Willing or my son William S. Willing is directed as Executor of my Will to transfer to the said Thomas Willing Junior within fifteen days after my Executors Shall have received the quarters Interest that may be payable next after my decease Provided however and it is my Will that before payment and transfer of the Cash Legacy of Twelve hundred Pounds and stocks and Loan of the aforesaid shall be made by my Executors to my said Grandson Thomas Willing Junior all and every Note and Bond given and to be given to me by him shall be fully paid off and discharged or secured to the satisfaction of my

Executors by him of the said Thomas Willing Junior And that the same Legacy stocks and Loan shall be considered in the nature of a Pledge in the hands of my Executors for the security of such Notes and bonds with Interest and may be sold by them and the produce applied to the payment of such notes and Bonds.

"I do give to my Grandson Richard Willing another son of my son Charles the Sum of Twelve hundred Pounds.

"I do give to my Grandson George Willing Junior the youngest son of my said son Charles the sum of Twelve hundred Pounds.

"The Annuity reserved out of the Estate called "Coventry Farm" of Fifty Pounds per annum payable by the purchaser thereof for and during the life of Ann Morris I give to Ann Willing the widow of my son Charles during the life of the Said Ann Morris and if the Said Ann Willing Shall die before the said Ann Morris I do in Such case give the Said Annuity of fifty pounds per annum during the then residue of the life of the Said Ann Morris to my Grandson George the only son of the Said Ann Willing and his heirs and I do further give to her the Said Ann Willing the Sum of Two hundred Pounds.

"All my Estate right and title to the house and lot of ground on the south side of Almond Street in Southwark which I hold as residuary devisee of my late sister Abigail Willing deceased I give and devise to my Niece Ann Morris during her life for which term she shall continue as heretofore to receive the rents of said Estate and after the death of the said Ann Morris my Niece I do give and devise the Said House and Estate in Almond Street aforesaid to Thomas Morris the only Son of my said Niece Ann Morris and to her three youngest daughters namely Elizabeth Margaret and Susan their respective heirs and assigns in equal shares as tenants in Common and in the event of the decease of either or any of the said three Youngest daughters of my said niece in minority and without Issue then the part or parts of such decedent or decedents in same Messuage and Lot shall go to the Said Thomas Morris and the Survivors or Survivor of the same three youngest daughters of my said Niece their respective heirs and assigns as tenants in Common and further I give to my said Niece Ann Morris the sum of six hundred Pounds in lieu of my yearly gift of fifty Pounds promised by me to be paid as long as both of us may live and long and regularly paid to her and also in full dis-

charge of all or any Claim to be made on my Estate for the sum of Three hundred and twenty five Pounds Assigned to me In trust for her use by her Aunt Elizabeth Powell for which Sum I have annually paid the Interest to my Said Niece not having applied the said Gift to the credit of her husband Luke Morris although he was indebted to me a much larger amount for seven years Rent of my Farm Wherefore I direct that when the above Legacy is paid to the said Ann Morris a full discharge and acquital shall be required and received from her for all and every Claim and Demand to be hereafter made against my Estate by her or her heirs executors administrators or assigns.

"I give to my Sister Elizabeth Powell the sum of One hundred Pounds which I hope she will Accept and receive as a token of my affectionate remembrance in any other view it would be unnecessary to one whose commendable liberality has been so generously and so often extended to supply the wants and provide for the comfort of many very many others.

"I do give to my Housekeeper Catherine Cushing five hundred dollars in return for her great and useful services kindly afforded to me during my late long Confinement.

"My House furniture my Stock and Family Wine and my Silver family plate I have given and directed the delivery of by my Executors in and by my letter to them dated March the ninth 1816 and herewith put up and to my directions so given I enjoin a strict compliance on the part of my Executors.

"It is my Will that all Bonds or Notes of hand which I now have or may hereafter receive from either of the Legatees above named or from the Husband of such Legatee or from either of my sons who may be herein after Named and Appointed as my Executors whether Such Bond or note has been assigned by me for the use of any other person or persons or not shall be fully paid and discharged by a deduction to be made from my Legacy or Legacies I have herein given to the obligors severally or to the wife of such obligor and Legatee unless the same is otherwise paid off and discharged.

"As to either of my sons herein Appointed an Executor to this my Will and who now is or may be so as above indebted to me on Bond or note he is not considered by me nor shall he be exonerated and released from the full payment and discharged of such his obligation or note for or by reason of his being named or appointed an Executor to this my Will any Laws or Construction of Laws or rule of Court to the Contrary Notwithstanding.

"I give to each of my Executors herein after named the Sum of Three hundred and seventy five Pounds as a compensation for the full execution of the trust and duty of an Executor to this my Will and the discharge of the Trusts committed to them thereby.

"After all my Debts and Legacies given in and by my Will or by any Codicil I may affix thereto are fully paid and discharged I do give devise and bequeath all the rest residue and remainder of my Estate real and personal of what nature or kind soever and wheresoever the same may be to my four sons Thomas Mayne Willing George Willing Richard Willing and William S. Willing or to such of them my said four sons as may survive me their respective heirs executors and administrators forever share and share alike as Tenants in Common.

"Further least any unexpected demand shall be made on my Estate or unforseen loss shall happen thereto by which my residuary Estate Shall be wholly absorbed and rendered unable to discharge my debts and pay Cash Legacies as above directed I do hereby direct and it is my Will that a Sale Shall be made by my Executors of the whole or such part thereof as may be necessary of My Lands or estate in the Eighteen Districts Westward of the Susquehannah River given to my nine Children or their representatives in the former part of my

will and that the produce of such sale or so much thereof as may be requisite and sufficient to discharge the said debts and legacies shall be applied to supply the deficiency after my said residuary Estate has been wholly applied for such purpose it being my desire to preserve from diminution all my Estate in the City and County of Philadelphia and in the County of Centre.

"And Lastly I do nominate and appoint my four sons Thomas Mayne Willing, George Willing Richard Willing and William S. Willing to be the Executors of this my last Will and Testament fully and with entire confidence trusting to their attention and faithful discharge of the trust I have committed to and repose in them and each of them my beloved Sons.—

"Having thus fully and I hope clearly expressed my Will and intentions by this Instrument on the four preceding and on this page all numbered from one to five inclusive and each page by me subscribed I do hereby declare the Same to be my last Will and Testament revoking and hereby declaring all other Wills and Testaments by me heretofore made to be null and void In Witness Whereof I have hereunto Set my hand and Seal this second day of December in the Year of our

Lord One thousand eight hundred and twenty 1820.

THOS. WILLING. SEAL

"Signed Sealed Published and declared by the Above Named Thomas Willing the Testator to be his last Will and Testament in the Presence of us at whose request in whose Presence and in the Presence of each other We Subscribe our names as Witnesses thereto Note namely Elizabeth Margaret and Susan in the Eighth line from the top of the fifth page being first interlined and the erazure in the thirteenth line from the bottom in the fourth page respecting Two Thousand Dollars United States Loan being first Made—

T. MITCHELL
HORATIO RAWLE
A. D. CASH

"Philadelphia January 29th 1821, Then Personally appeared Thomas Mitchell, Horatio Rawle and Andrew D. Cash the Witnesses to the aforegoing

Will and on their solemn affirmation according to law did declare and say that they did see and hear Thomas Willing the Testator in the said Will named sign seal publish & declare the Same as and for his last Will and Testament and that at the doing thereof he was of sound mind and memory & understanding to the best of their knowledge & belief.—

Coram
EDMUND ROGERS
Deputy Register.

"WHEREAS by an oversight I gave in my aforegoing Will to my Grandson Thomas Willing Junior a Legacy of Twenty shares of the United States Bank stock heretofore held by me But which twenty shares of same Stock I had sold some time since which sale is an ademption of said Legacy and makes the Same null and void I do therefore give to the said Thomas Willing Junior the further sum of Two thousand Dollars in Cash in lieu and as an equivalent for the Said Twenty shares of United States Bank stock subject however to the payment of all Bonds and Notes of the Said Thomas Willing Junior given to and held by me at the time of my decease and I do direct that these Presents be taken as a Codicil to and a

part of my aforegoing Will In Witness Whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this second day of December in the year of our Lord One thousand eight hundred and twenty 1820.—

THOS. WILLING. SEAL

"Signed Sealed Published and Declared by the above named Thomas Willing the Testator to be a Codicil to his last Will and Testament in the Presence of us at whose request in whose presence and in the presence of each other we subscribe our names as witnesses thereto—

T. MITCHELL

A. D. CASH.

"Philadelphia January 29th 1821. Then Personally appeared Thomas Mitchell and Andrew D. Cash the witnesses to the above Codicil and on their Solemn Affirmation according to LAW did declare and say that they did see & hear Thomas Willing the Testator in the said Codicil named sign seal publish and declare the Same as and for a Codicil to his last Will and Testament and that at the doing thereof he was of sound mind memory

and understanding to the best of their knowledge & belief.—

Coram

EDMUND ROGERS
Deputy Register.

"I, THOMAS WILLING of the City of Philadelphia do make and execute this instrument of writing to be the Codicil to my last Will and Testament to which I have caused the same to be annexed.

"FIRST I do hereby revoke and make void all that part of my Said last Will and Testament in which I have given and devised to my son William Shippen Willing and to his Heirs All those my two Estates Situate in Front Street between Walnut and Chestnut Streets in the Said City of Philadelphia together with all the Rights and Privileges thereunto belonging and all the buildings and improvements thereon one of the Said Estates being late in the tenure of William Leedom on which there is also a dwelling house and stable occupied by Patrick Carson And the other of the said Estates being now occupied by the said William S. Willing as a dwelling house and I do also revoke all that part of my said last Will and Testament in which I have given and devised unto my said son William and his heirs all that Pasture Lot of ground situate on Hudsons

Lane in the Township of Moyamensing in the County of Philadelphia containing Six Acres and a half more less. And I do hereby give devise and bequeath all and each of the Above described premises unto my sons Thomas Mayne Willing George Willing and to my Son in Law Richards Peters Junior and to the survivors and survivor of them and to the heirs of such survivor To Have and to Hold the same In trust for the following uses and purposes Viz: that they the said Trustees and the survivors and survivor of them and the heirs of such survivor shall have take and receive the Rents, Issues and Profits of all and each of the said premises as they Shall arise and become due for and during the life of my said son William for the support of his family and the maintenance and education of his children now or hereafter to be born and as the same shall be so had taken and received by them the said Trustees after deducting all reasonable charges and expenses incurred in the execution of this trust to pay over the Same to my said Son William for the support of his family and the maintenance support and education of his children and the receipts for the same given by my said son William shall be the only Acquittances for the performance of said trust and further In trust that if my said son

William shall survive his Wife Maria and shall live till any one of his Children now born and which may be born hereafter shall attain the age of Twenty one years then the Said Trustees Shall hold the Said Premises to and for such uses and purposes and subject to such devise or devises as my said son William may declare name and appoint in any last Will and Testament he may duly make and execute and also In trust that if my said son William shall die leaving no Widow or Child and Intestate that then the said trustees shall hold the Said premises to and for the use of such of my other Children as may be living at the time of my decease and of the Heirs of such Children to have and enjoy the same as Tenants in Common and not as joint tenants And also on the further trust that if my said son William should die before either of his children now or hereafter to be born shall arrive at the age of Twenty one Years and before his Said Wife Maria then it is my Will and intention that they the Said Trustees or a majority of them then living Shall sell and dispose of and by Deed or Deeds grant and Convey the Said premises in fee simple to any person or persons either at Public or private sale and the monies which shall arise from such sale shall be by them disposed of in manner following Viz: Two hundred Pounds

part thereof shall be forthwith paid over to Maria the Wife of my said son for her own use and benefit and the remaining part of the monies produced by such sale to be equally divided among the Children of my said son William when they severally shall arrive at the age of Twenty one years And untill they shall so attain the age of Twenty one years their respective parts of said monies Shall be placed at interest and the interest thereof when the Same Shall be received by the said trustees shall be paid over to the said Maria during her widowhood only for the maintenance and Education of the said Children of my said son William And if either of the said Children shall die before he or she shall attain the age of Twenty one years leaving no Issue then the part or portion of him or her so dying shall go to and be equally divided among the surviving Children of my said son and as soon as each or either of the said Children of my said son shall attain the age of Twenty one years the part or portion of the said monies to such Child belonging shall be paid to such Child by the Said Trustees And the right of the Said Maria to receive the Interest on the same shall cease and determine as shall also cease her right to receive the interest or any part of the Said remaining monies should she marry

again and also In trust that if my Said son William and Maria his Wife Shall die before either of their Children now born or hereafter to be born shall attain the age of Twenty one years or if he the said William shall die leaving no widow and after any one of his Children shall attain the age of twenty one years he having made no last Will and Testament then and in either such cases the said Trustees or a majority of them for the time being and the survivor of them his heirs or assigns shall and may sell and dispose of the said Premises in fee simple at any time they shall deem most advantageous and the proceeds of such sales shall be equally divided among the said Children and shall be paid over to them as they severally attain the age of Twenty one years and also In trust that if my said son William Should die without leaving issue leaving his Wife Maria that then they the said Trustees or a majority of them for the time being shall sell and dispose of the Said premises and the proceeds thereof shall go to and be enjoyed Two hundred Pounds part thereof by the said Maria and the residue of said Proceeds shall be equally divided Among such of my other Children as shall be alive at the time of my death and if any one of such my Children as shall be alive at the time of my death shall

die before the arrival of said Contingency then the part or portion of such Child shall go to and be enjoyed by his or her Heirs and in order the better to enable the said Trustees or a majority of them for the time being to execute the several trusts hereinbefore set forth and described and to dispose of any part or parts of the Said trust Estate should they deem it advantageous so to do in fee simple or Ground Rent or otherwise I do hereby give and grant to them or a majority of them for the time being and the survivor of them and the Heirs of such Survivor full power and Authority to make execute and deliver such Lease and Leases as may be requisite and also such deed or deeds as may be necessary to vest any part or parts thereof in the purchaser or purchasers of the same his her or their heirs and assigns in fee simple or for any lesser Estate for the best price or prices or the greatest annual rent charges that can or may be reasonably had or gotten for any part or parts of same trust Estate and the monies produced by any sale or sales to reinvest in the purchase of other Estate and Property and to reserve the ground rents charged on any part of same Estates In trust for the like uses intents and purposes that are herein before mentioned and expressed of and concerning the trust Estates aforesaid.

"And I do hereby direct my Executors in my said last Will and Testament named to pay out of the residuary part of my Estate unto my Sons Thomas Mayne Willing George Willing and my Son in Law Richard Peters Junior the Sum of Eighteen hundred Pounds in Trust for the following uses and purposes to wit to put the same out at Interest or invest the same in Six per Cent Stocks as they may think most advantageous and the Interest or dividends on the same as they may be received to pay over to my son William during his life for the support of his family and the maintenance education and support of his Children and after his decease I give the said Sum of Eighteen hundred Pounds to such of the said Trustees as may then be living for their own Use share and share alike and if neither of the said Trustees shall survive my said son William then the said last mentioned sum of money shall go to all and every the Children of my said son born and to be born share and share alike.

"WHEREAS in the first page of my aforegoing Will I devised to my Executors their heirs and assigns my part share and Interest of and in about One hundred and twenty two thousand Acres of land purchased by William Bingham and myself

in the Eighteen Districts West of the River Susquehannah in Pennsylvania In trust for the purposes therein mentioned by which devise my daughter Elizabeth Jackson would become entitled to one ninth part of the monies that may be produced by a sale thereof or any part thereof made by my Executors within ten years next after my decease as therein mentioned Now I do revoke so much of the said Trust only as relates to my said Daughters part share and proportion of the monies that may be produced by a sale of same lands within ten years after my decease as aforesaid and in lieu thereof I do give to my Executors and the survivors and survivor of them and the executors administrators and assigns of such Survivor all the monies which my said Daughter would have been entitled to under the said trust had this Codicil not been made In trust and Confidence nevertheless to place the said monies out at Interest or invest the Same in Six per Cent Stock of the United States and to receive the Interest thereof and pay over the same half Yearly to my Daughter Elizabeth Jackson for her separate use during her life And for which her own receipts only notwithstanding her Coverture shall be sufficient in the law And so that the same and every part thereof

shall not be in the power or subject to the debts Controul or engagements of her husband or of any other person whatever and at the decease of my said daughter all the said Monies which she would have been entitled to under the first mentioned trust had this Codicil not been made and the Stocks and Mortgages in which the same may be invested shall go and I do give the same in the same way and manner as in the second page of my Will is mentioned and expressed of and Concerning the Legacy of Sixteen hundred Pounds thereby given to my Executors In trust.

"AND WHEREAS in my last Will and Testament as well as in this Codicil I have assigned to my Executors and to other persons named therein various duties as trustees and otherwise of the due and faithful performance of which I have no doubt but believe that the said trusts and duties will be performed with the best discretion of them the said Executors and others and ought not to expose them or either of them to any personal responsibilities It is therefore declared by me and I direct the Same may be received and taken as part of my last Will and Testament and of this Codicil that the performance of said trusts and duties of the Said Executors and trustees according

to their best discretion and judgment shall be a full and Complete acquital of them and each of them from all Liabilities responsibilities claims and demands whatever And I do hereby enjoin and desire all those for whom my said Executors or the said Trustees may Act in the Premises to receive and consider the performance of the said trusts and duties in manner aforesaid as a full and entire performance of my Said last Will and Testament and of this Codicil and a full compliance with all my intentions In Witness I have hereunto set my hand and seal this second Day of December in the year of our Lord One thousand eight hundred and twenty 1820.

"THOS. WILLING. SEAL

"Signed sealed published and declared by the above named Thomas Willing the Testator as and for a Codicil to his last Will and Testament in the Presence of Us at whose request in whose presence and in the presence of each other we subscribe our Names as Witnesses thereto.

T. MITCHELL
HORATIO RAWLE
A. D. CASH.

"Philadelphia January 29th 1821. Then Personally Thomas Mitchell Horatio Rawle and Andrew D. Cash the witnesses to the aforegoing Codicil and on their solemn Affirmation According to Law did declare & Say that they did see & hear Thomas Willing the Testator in the Said Codicil named sign seal publish & declare the same as & for a Codicil to his last Will and Testament and that at the doing there of he was of sound Mind Memory & understanding to the best of their knowledge & belief.—

Coram
Edmund Rogers
Deputy Register.

"Thomas Mayne Willing, George Willing, Richard Willing, & William S. Willing, the Executors sworn the same day & Letters Testamentary granted unto them.

"Will Book No. 7. pp. 229-239.

"Philadelphia, Pa."

ADDENDA.

THOMAS WILLING TO MR. CHARLES WILLING.[63]

"DEAR BROTHER

"M^r^. Forrest has delivered me a Certificate for £173–12/– Issued by the Comp^tr^. Gen^l^. in lieu of the old one granted to Patterson & also a draft on the Treasury for the Int^s^. for 5 year's amo^t^. to £52–1–8– Curr^y^ of the last Emission, w^h^. waits your order in my hands—

"I have also enabled Mess^rs^. D & C. to pay your first draft for D^rs^. 340; & have this day paid off y^r^. order to M^r^ Caner 160 Dollars—the ballance you'l draw on me for, as occasions may require at maturity I shall get the other draft paid off in the same way I suppose—

"Tommy return'd home last Even^g^. and tells me that you are mend^g^. fast in health & Strength; god grant you may obtain a perfect recovery—with care and wholesome Country Air, much may be expected, and I hope will be effected too—

[63] Volume of *Swift and Willing Letters* (*Balch Papers*) in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

"Our very dear Sister, has a flattering prospect of relief, if not a perfect cure—for my part, I am perswaded she will be restored compleatly. She has suffered greatly, has born it with the greatest fortitude, & really deserve's a Cure—All the rest of our Circle are well—I hope Lizzy is getting better, & that Charles has had no return of his fever—I hope he will stick to the plough now he has undertaken a Country life, & y^{t}. you'l have the Credit of making him a compleat farmer—

"Adieu!

I am ever your's

THO^{s}. WILLING.

"Bank Sept^{r}. 18th 1786."

Superscription—

"*M^{r}. Charles Willing*

^{at} Coventry

Chester County."

Thomas Willing to the Spanish Commissioners Regarding the Rate of Exchange.[64]

"Bank of the United States
"January 23d. 1793

"Gentlemen

"Agreeable to your request I have communicated the letter which you honoured me with the 18th. Inst. to the Directors of the Bank, together with your further proposal made to me on Saturday last, respecting an Assurance of indemnity to you against any difference or loss which cou'd possibly take place in the value of the Spanish dollar.

"I have now the pleasure to inform you that we are ready to receive your draft on New York, & that we will readily receive and transport to this Bank free of cost, any money you have in New York, that I am authorized to assure you, that whatever sum of money you now have, or may have in this Bank after the arrival of the above sum from New York, shall be all packed up and paid to your order at any time, on three days' Notice, in Spanish milled dollars to the full amount of whatever sum you may then have in our possession, and that you shall not be subject to any loss

[64] MS. letter in the possession of Charles Willing, Esq[r]., son of the late Richard Lloyd Willing, Esqr.

by any change which can hereafter be established by public authority respecting the value of the Spanish dollar.

"I have the honor to be, Sir's, for the President Directors & Company of the Bank of the United States

"Your most Obedt.

"THOS. WILLING Prest.

"The Commissioners
of His Catholic Majesty."

THOMAS WILLING TO M^R. JOHN NICHOLSON ESQ^R.[65]

"SIR

"Your Stock A/C^t. stands Credited w^h. four Shares of Stock, & the Certificates have as we suppose, been in Course deliver'd to you, because its the practice with Us to do so—

"If you can make proof on Oath that they have been lost, or otherwise mislaid so that you can't come at them—And will Advertise in one or more of the Public Papers for Six Weeks the No. &c; It will then be agreeable to the rules of this Institution to Issue to you a fresh Certificate after w^h. you may transfer the same—

[65] Volume of *Swift and Willing Letters* (*Balch Papers*) in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

"No transfer can be admitted without the Certificate is presented, *nor* if the Party is in debt to the Bank—

I am Sir y^r^. Obed^t^.

THO^S^. WILLING *Pres^t^*.

"Bank U. S.
feby 6^th^. 1795.

"JN^O^. NICHOLSON ESQ^R^."

Superscription

"*John Nicholson, Esq^r^*.

"Present."

THOMAS WILLING—TO HIS DAUGHTER MRS. CLYMER.[66]

"MY VERY DEAR MOLLY

"I congratulate you on the coming in of a new year; & most sincerely do I wish you, and y^r^. little family, much good health, and the most perfect happiness thro'. the Course of this, & many succeeding One's—

"You are favour'd in the possession of a fine healthy & lovely babe—She is a pleasing addition to the Number of my descendants, & most heartily welcome to my family Circle. I hope

[66] Volume of *Swift and Willing Letters* (*Balch Papers*) in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

she may ever deserve your attachment and tender affections, as well as you have done mine.

"I send you under this Cover, One hund^{d}. & Sixty dollars in bank Notes—Accept them as an Annual offering for Pin & Pocket Money—It is a tribute of affection, from a heart devoted to your comfort & happiness; and which from the warmth of it's feelings & attachment, cou'd here add with sincerity many tender expressions of regard; such as are often used at the close of a letter, from those who love, to those who are much, & tenderly beloved; but these are quite unnecessary from

Your friend & father
THO^{s}. WILLING."

"Jan^{ry} 6th 1796
"MARY CLYMER
Superscription—"*Mrs Mary Clymer*
2^{d} Street."

THOMAS WILLING TO CHAS. W. HARE, ESQ.[67]

"DEAR CHARLES—

"I receiv'd your letter a few days ago, in which you kindly offer to attend to my land concerns in Northampton County, which I hold

[67] Volume of *Swift and Willing Letters* (*Balch Papers*) in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

in equal share with Mr. Binghams Estate—I have paid a large Sum for those lands, as desired so to do by Mr. Bingham from time to time—of those payments, my Son T. M. Wg. has the Account, & will show it to you, that it may be known, whether I have been deficient as to my proportion of the Costs hitherto—

"As to any settlement now to be made with either of the Grantors; you will please to confer with my Son Thos. M. Willing, & do for my part, what you do for Mr. Binghams Estate—And I do hereby engage and bind myself, & my heirs, to confirm, and abide by such arrangement as you may make—

"I will also pay my share of any future costs you may engage for, to assure my Title to those Lands—and am with

"Sincere affection

"Yrs. Thos. Willing

"Philada

"Janry. 28th. 1806—

"Charles W. Hare Esqr."

Superscription

"*Charles W. Hare Esqr.*

"4th. Street

Philada."

APPENDIX.

Address and Remonstrance of the Subscribers, Inhabitants of the City and Liberties of Philadelphia, May, 1776.[68]

The following remonstrance to the Honourable the House of Assembly, which was yesterday agreed to at a meeting of a respectable number of the inhabitants of this city and liberties, and is now signing by them, is earnestly recommended to the inhabitants of the different counties of the province, that in this, or some similar manner, they may express their sentiments upon the protest referred to May 22, 1776.

To the Hon., the Representatives of the Freemen of the province of *Pennsylvania*, in Assembly met

The Address and Remonstrance of the Subscribers, Inhabitants of the City and Liberties of Philadelphia:

Whereas to our great affliction we find that a paper has been presented to the House, stiled "The Protest of divers inhabitants of this

[68] *Pennsylvania Gazette, May 22nd, 1776, No. 2474*, page 3, cols. 1 and 2.

province," said to be "in behalf of themselves and others," the purport of which is to subvert and change the constitution of this government, upon sundry allegations which we cannot conceive to be well founded; and whereas we think it an indispensible duty to ourselves and our posterity, to claim and support our birthright in the charter and wise laws of Pennsylvania, either consented to by ourselves, or delivered down to us by our ancestors, as far as may be possible, without injury to the public cause of America, during the present distressed situation of our affairs: We do therefore remonstrate against the said protest, for the following reasons:

1st. Because it holds up the Resolve of the *Congress*, of the 15th. instant, as an *absolute* injunction for the "taking up and establishing *new governments* throughout all the united colonies, under the authority of the people." Whereas said resolve is only a conditional recommendation "to the respective Assemblies and Conventions of the United Colonies, where no *government sufficient to the exigencies of their affairs has been established*, to adopt such governments as shall, *in the opinion of the Representatives of the People*,

best conduce to the happiness and safety of their *constituents in particular*, and America in general. And here it is obvious to remark, that in this and every other resolve of Congress, where, "*Assemblies and Conventions*" are referred to, it must be intended (and the practice has been accordingly) that wherever *Assemblies* exist, and can meet as the ancient constitutional bodies in their respective colonies, the public business is to be carried on by *them*, and by *Conventions*, only in those urgent cases where arbitrary Governors, by prorogations and dissolutions, prevent the Representatives of the People from sitting to deliberate on their own affairs, or have subverted the constitutions, by abdicating their offices, and levying war against these colonies. That the assembly of this province cannot be prorogued or dissolved; that they have been exceeded by no province in their noble exertions in the common cause of liberty; that by the Resolve of Congress, who have never interferred in the domestic police (*sic*) of the colonies, the Representatives of the People are left as the sole judges, whether their governments be "sufficient for the exigencies of *their* affairs" or *not;* That our courts of law are open, justice

has been administered with a due attention to our circumstances, and large sums of money issued, the credit of which might be shaken, and numberless confusions ensue, from innovations hastily or unnecessarily made.

2d. We remonstrate against the said *Protest*, as setting on foot a measure which tends to disunion, and must damp the zeal of multitudes of the good people of Pennsylvania in the common cause, who, having a high veneration for their civil and religious rights, as secured by our charter, never conceived, when they engaged, among other things, for the support of the charter rights of another colony, that *they* would be called upon to make a sacrifice of *their own charter*. Nor can we now see anything in *our* situation which requires such an unequal sacrifice, while other colonies, particularly Connecticut and Rhode Island, the authority of whose Assemblies is the same way derived by charter as ours, continue their ancient forms of government by *these* bodies, without Conventions.

That whatever temporary alteration in *forms* the urgency of affairs, or the *authority* of the people, can be conceived to justify or render expedient, *that* authority is fully vested in our

Representatives in Assembly freely and annually chosen.

Six parts in seven of your body are, by our inestimable charter, vested with the power of determining this matter. We look to you, as entrusted with the conservation of our rights, and are firmly of opinion, that your constituents in general will chearfully be governed by whatever your wisdom may ordain in the present exigency . . . humbly recommending it to you always to keep in mind, that in times of confusion every change should be cautiously adopted, and only such made as are absolutely necessary. In which particular the province of South Carolina (when impelled by necessity) has set a laudable example, regulating themselves with a view towards, and only until, "an accommodation of the unhappy differences between Great Britain and America can be obtained, an event which" though traduced and treated as rebels they still profess earnestly to desire.

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